

One million people greet the Queen on her Silver Jubilee Day

drove in state through St Paul's yesterday to Commonwealth's thanks for her 25 years on the throne. People who on her way encompassed an ocean of enthusiasm as must have expected and all consciousness of showers of her Silver Jubilee had camped to make sure of a Royal Family's glittering and to add their quota of acclamations that they all the way. The Queen's good service to all as she the Duke of Edinburgh's return to Buckingham Palace and her arrival in the crowd of the Queen. They were several appearances by the Duke waving from

Earlier, the procession route, via The Mall, Trafalgar Square, Strand, Temple Bar, Fleet Street, Ludgate Circus and Ludgate Hill, had been packed with people determined to show their affection for the Queen. They sang the National Anthem as she entered the cathedral, cheered her as she walked from there to Guildhall for luncheon, and on her return to the palace in an open landau.

The highlight of the day was the service at St Paul's, officially described as: "A form of prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God commemorating the blessings granted to the Queen's most excellent Majesty during the 25 years of her reign."

It was one of those occasions that the British are still able to do so well. The pomp and pageantry were magnificent, everything ran like clockwork, and no one stumbled over his lines.

All those invited, except one, took their seats in plenty of time. The missing guest was Mr. James Manicham, who was deposed as President of Seychelles soon after his arrival in London for the Commonwealth conference, which begins today.

The guest list, prepared by the

Lord Chamberlain's Office, included Mr. Manicham, but one of his aides, speaking from the Savoy Hotel, where Mr. Manicham is staying, said he had decided not to attend the service because he was concerned about the attention he might attract. "It was the Queen's day, and he did not want his presence to detract from that."

The only other embarrassment, but one that the parties concerned carried off with great aplomb, was the fact that Lord Snowdon, who is separated from Princess Margaret, was seated eight rows behind the Royal Family. He watched his wife, enter the cathedral in a procession with Lord and Lady Sarah Armstrong-Jones, his children. When the service ended the children left the procession to greet their father affectionately in a side aisle.

After the main part of the congregation had been seated Commonwealth heads of state and leaders of delegations attending the Commonwealth conference took their seats in pews behind those reserved for the Royal Family. The Prime Minister helped to usher them to their seats, and had a quiet chat with several. Mrs. Callaghan, in a straw hat adorned with bunches of red flowers, sat next to the King of Lesotho, who was wear-

ing a bright military uniform decorated with much gold and blue.

The leaders included Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Dr. Banda of Malawi, Mr. Trudeau, the Canadian Prime Minister, Sir Seretse Khama, President of Botswana, and Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore.

They, and the rest of the congregation of 2,700, were treated before the service began to the spectacle of several processions threading their way along to their allotted places.

They included archbishops and bishops, officers of the orders of chivalry, the Yeomen of the Guard, and the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen at Arms, resplendent in gold helmets decorated with white ostrich feathers, which were gently fanned by the light breeze in the cathedral.

Then the moment that all had been waiting for. People stood on tiptoe and craned their necks for a better view as members of the Royal Family began to arrive and settle into their places in the front pew, behind the red velvet chairs placed for the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh.

As the royal ladies seated themselves the pew began to resemble a garden full of pastel-coloured flowers.

All were dressed in varying shades of pink, lavender, blue, green and turquoise. Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother's outfit was of a slightly darker shade of yellow than that of the Duchess of Gloucester, and Princess Margaret's pink was also a little darker than that of the Queen. The Duchess of Kent, who always manages to look a little different, was wearing a bright lettuce-green short-sleeved coat over a matching green and white dress.

The service began with the singing of the hymn "All people that on earth do dwell", the version arranged by Ralph Vaughan Williams for the Queen's coronation. The coronation of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra was recalled by the choir's singing of the anthem "I was glad".

The music for Psalm 121 was composed by Mr. Barry Rose, sub-organist of St Paul's, and Mr. Christopher Dearney, the organist, composed the anthem based on Psalm 88.

The first lesson, from the Book of Micah, was read by the Archbishop of York, and the second, from St Matthew, by the Archdeacon of London, the Ven. Sam Woodhouse.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Coggan, told the congregation that Britain and the Commonwealth had

been blessed beyond measure by having at their heart an example of service untriflingly done, of duty faithfully fulfilled, and of a home life stable and wonderfully happy.

"Many today are seeing through the hollowness of a way of life which seeks to build on a basis of materialism, of each for himself, or each for his sectional interest, and forgoes the good of the whole," Dr. Coggan said.

"Many are seeing the supreme need for reconciliation and understanding at the heart of a people, where rivalry or suspicion could so easily lead to open conflict."

After the service the Queen spoke at a luncheon given by the Corporation of London at Guildhall. Eight hundred guests consumed salmon-trout, beef with potatoes, beans and carrots, and melon and raspberries, and then heard the Queen remark that in olden days jubilees were celebrated at the golden fiftieth year. There was a distinct sabbatical flavour about the proceedings, she said.

"It is beginning to dawn on me that a silver jubilee is of a somewhat different nature. But if this is not exactly a period of rest for us, it is certainly one of refreshment and of happiness and satisfaction."

The Queen's speech, page 4

night wait gets its reward

thought as rewarded for their all night in and outside St Paul's Cathedral. The adverse weather, rain and sleet, did not deter the thousands of people who lined the route. In order to see the Queen, many people had camped in the rain for days. The reward was the sight of the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh, who were seen in the crowd of the Queen. They were several appearances by the Duke waving from

or so as they moved down Chesapeake, whose pavements were now packed. The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh, who were seen in the crowd of the Queen. They were several appearances by the Duke waving from



A moment to be treasured for a lifetime as the Queen pauses to talk to some of the crowd lining the route during her walk from St Paul's Cathedral to Guildhall after yesterday's service of thanksgiving.

'Liz rules OK' the Cockney way

By Louis Heren

A large banner hung on the wall of the high-rise flats proclaimed: "Liz Rules, OK?" and far below in Havering Street they were celebrating her jubilee in the good old Cockney way.

A tea party and a fancy-dress competition for the kids, bottles of booze and dancing for the grown-ups and lashings of Cockney kindness and good humour for everybody. It was just as I remembered it when I grew up round the corner in High Street, Shadwell.

Mrs. Anson, who lives at number 45 began raising money for the party last September, and with collections at the local bingo hall and elsewhere raised £621 for 20 street parties.

Mrs. Jones, who lives at number 34 with her lorry-driver husband, and Mrs. Frost down the street organized the kids' party. She said that she was a P & O stewardess, which translated means she is a char at the company's office in Leadenhall Street.

The hunting fluttered in the sun, and the kids tucked in while their dads reminisced. Nothing like a street party to keep people together, said a foreman who had to move down to Tibbury docks when they closed the London docks.

Not like the old days though, said a glass worker. The

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es to frustrate President Amin ing during day of false alarms

announced last night that he was heading for Ethiopia towards Britain. The Foreign Office could throw no light on what was going on. The Home Office said that immigration officials at air ports and ports had been warned to be ready for President Amin with contingency plans for his arrival.

Charles Harrison writes from Nairobi: Ugandans heard for the first time that President Amin had left for Britain in the midnight hours of the night. The broadcast was delayed for 15 minutes, when it was announced that he had left on board an aircraft of a friendly country. Amin was accompanied by his family, where in Uganda soon after 3 a.m.

Late in the afternoon, the radio mentioned for the first time that he was heading for London to attend the Commonwealth Conference.

General Mustafa Adrisi, the Vice-President and Minister of Defence, announced in Kampala that he was in charge of the country.

After the announcement that the President had reached his first destination it was thought likely that he was in Libya, Christopher Walker writes from Dublin: The Irish coalition Government yesterday took time off from the serious business of electioneering to prepare itself and its country to repel an embarrassing phantom invasion by President Amin.

At last night an atmosphere of farce had overtaken an exercise which began in deadly earnest earlier in the day with the dispatch of more than 50 armed troops, six Panhard armoured cars and an assortment of police dogs to Dublin airport.

The panic began shortly before lunch when a routine Irish Cabinet meeting was suddenly interrupted by the unwelcome news that the Ugandan President was heading for the Irish Republic en route to

London. As faces later grew redder with his continuing non-arrival, officials' sources flatly refused to disclose the original source of the information but it is believed to have been an over-imaginative European diplomat based in Kampala.

Amidst to avoid a diplomatic incident, the Government quickly issued an official statement through its information service and every available press and television reporter was withdrawn from election coverage and hastily dispatched to the small airport.

Excitement increased to fever pitch during the afternoon when the control tower could distinctly be heard calling 10 times in succession: "Uganda flight 345. Do you read me?" This anxious message reaffirmed local conviction that Amin's plane was busy burning up fuel over the Irish Sea in order to demand emergency landing, rights which the mulling Irish authorities would be unable to international law to refuse.

But this false alarm, too, was eventually explained by a spate of official who summoned scores of correspondents and cameramen. It was a mistake, he explained, caused by airport controllers misreading the call sign of an Aer Lingus training flight in the vicinity.

Bomb alert on Mintoff plane

Ajaccio, June 7.—A British Airways Trident airliner carrying Mr. Dom Mintoff, the Maltese Prime Minister, to the Commonwealth conference in London, today made an emergency landing here after a warning that there was a bomb on board. British Airways was expected to send another Trident to fly Mr. Mintoff to London.

Mr. Mintoff, who was in the Maltese capital, Valletta, was told that there was a bomb on board. British Airways was expected to send another Trident to fly Mr. Mintoff to London.

Growth of Civil Service 'is under control'

Growth of the Civil Service has been brought under control, figures to be published on Friday are expected to show. Central government manpower remained steady at 746,000 in the six months until April 1 and is not expected to rise unless the Cabinet amends its system of cash limits. Combined with the general climate of restraint in Whitehall, the limits have been held responsible for the unexpectedly low manpower figures.

£10m campaign for grocery shoppers

Grocery shoppers can expect price cuts or double stamp offers worth an estimated £10m during the next month as a result of the biggest sales battle since the trading stamp war of the early 1960s. The first campaign in this year's battle, set off by Tesco's decision to drop Green Shield stamps, started last night with a barrage of press and television advertisements.

Ulster policeman shot

The comparative 'hull' in violence in Belfast during the jubilee celebrations was shattered when a policeman was shot and severely wounded in Andersonstown and a restaurant in the north of the city was extensively damaged by a bomb and fire. The policeman was in a patrol car that came under fire from a house taken over by gunmen.

Hostages set record

Proving more than a match for the Dutch authorities' strategy of patience, the South Moluccan gunmen holding 56 adult hostages took the siege into its sixteenth day, a record for the kind of holdout. The Dutch crisis cabinet again met in The Hague but is showing no signs of reopening the deadlocked attempts at mediation.

50p school meals urged

Parents should have to pay the full economic cost of school meals, the National Association of Head Teachers, which represents two thirds of all head teachers in state primary schools decided at its conference in Southport. That would raise the cost from 15p to 50p.

Threat to Zambia power

Mr. Roger Hawkins, Rhodesian Minister of Combined Operations, threatened to cut off power supplies to Zambia from the Kariba hydroelectric complex if the Zambians did not stop unprovoked attacks on Rhodesian territory. In London for the Commonwealth conference, President Kaunda of Zambia said Britain was seriously miscalculating its African policy.

Crime increase: Strathclyde police, who cover half the population of Scotland, reported a 16 per cent increase in crime in the past four months.

Lisbon: Portuguese Socialists reject coalition with any Opposition party.

Seychelles: New regime relaxes curfew and shops and banks open again.

Turkey: Mr. Ecevit solicits political support from dissidents and independents in forming a government.

Antiques at Garrard

A rare pair of silver spice jars, height 9 inches, date Charles II, 1675. Maker's mark I.B. with a crescent below (recorded in Sir Charles Jackson's *English Goldsmiths and Their Marks*, 2nd Edition, page 130).

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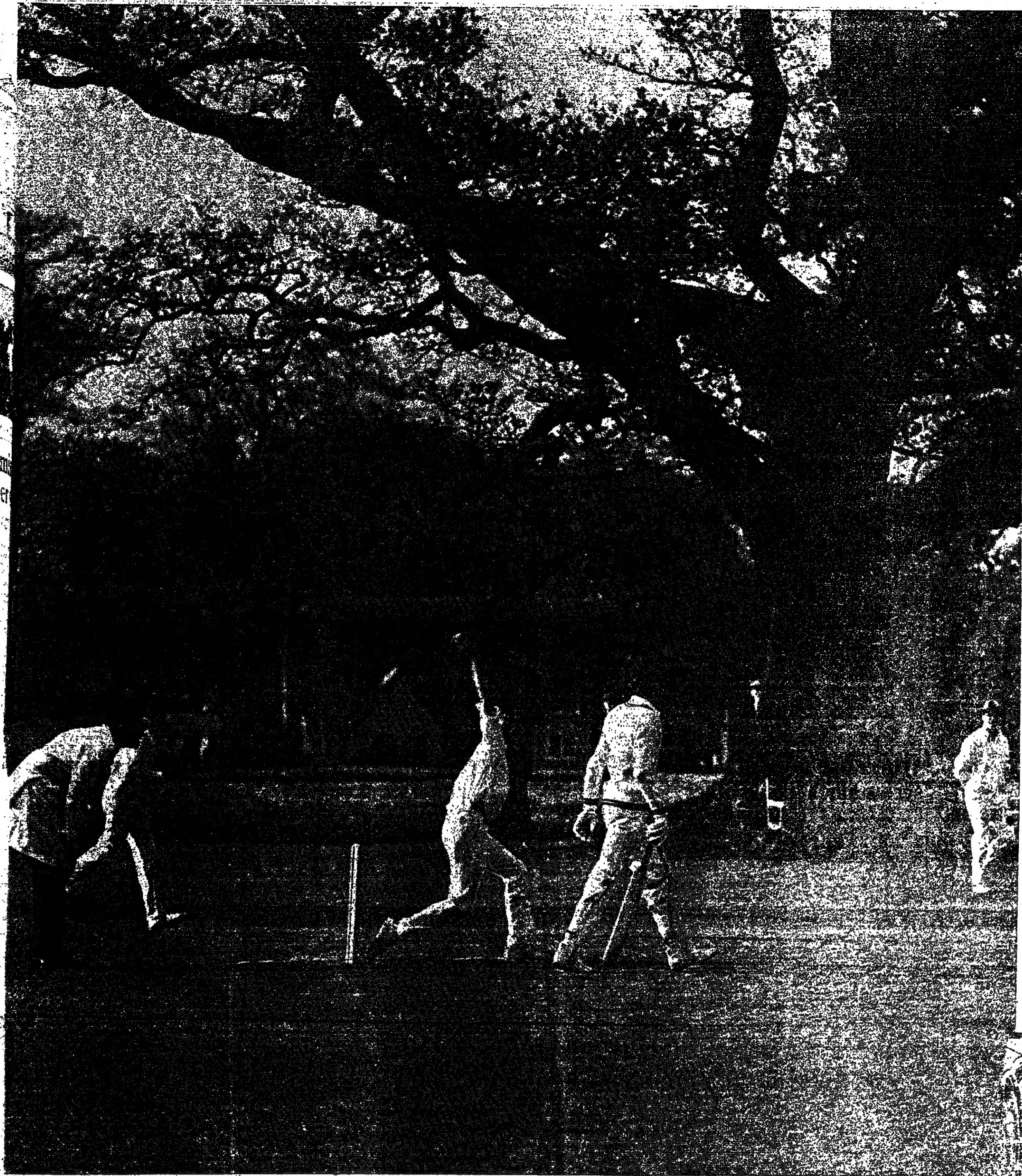
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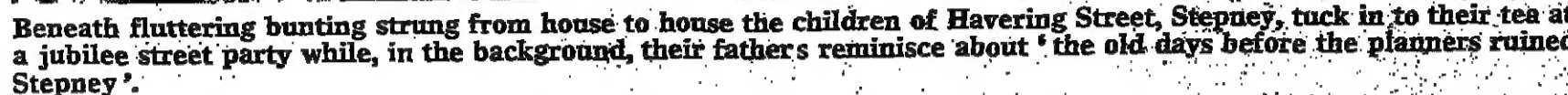
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Continued from page 1

bleedin' planners have ruined Strepyu. But who cares? Not Mr Peter bleedin' Shore. Why should he worry when he's got a safe seat.

I am happy to report that They have not ruined Havering Street. Seen from the commuter train that run every few minutes across the arch at one end of the street it must look like two rows of mean cottages.

They have outside privies and no bathrooms, but each has six cosy rooms and a small back yard. There are work shops at Tate and Lyle, like electrician at Tate and Lyle, like those flats.

In a basement room of number 40 old Mrs Hart, who is 96, was drinking whisky and watching the rally. She worked as a char at Dr Barnardo's until she was 86, and remembered Queen Victoria's last jubilee.

Adequately refreshed (I was given a large whisky and tonic water) we went upstairs, where she was presented with a large bouquet of flowers.

The rain came, and I was invited into number 36, which had once been a synagogue. There was a small bar in the corner of the room and a large deep freezer where the Ark

Once stood, and we had more whiskey.

My host had been a sabbath guy, that is he had lighted fires for the orthodox on the sabbath. We used to sing "No Jews allowed down Wapping" but we didn't mean it, he said.

The sun came out again, and in the street a stout old party wearing a flax paper cap was waiting with a neighbour who had repaired barges, until they closed down the yard. The party was warming up, and the women had removed their pinafores to show off their best dresses. There was a feeling

of benign expectancy in the street.

Come rain or sunshine, it was going to be a very good party. Whisky, gin and beer bottles were stacked in all the front rooms.

I was offered another whisky, but duncy called. Why, I asked, were you celebrating the toubles? An excuse for a good knees up?

Parry then, said one. Parry's good, said another. She's Brian, yer know. She's Brian, yer know. She's Brian, yer know.

I'm a monarchist meself, said another. Always 'ave been. Who'd want to live in a republic?

Having done my journalistic

They want to stay in Haverling Street, but you really should see that they get inside lavatories and bathrooms. It would be a good way of remembering this jubilee.

Then the procession proper and the signal for a salvo of dense hurrahs and gurgling shouts. Tall spectators gave up their seats to the Queen and Mark, Margaret and somebody, two old women and two old men, Mountbatten, and so on. The gold state coach, empty save for the Queen, the Queen Mother, the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, and a second spouse of the Queen.

Then uncertainty. "Is there any more?" everyone asked each other. The Queen was out of the car, and the Duke began to drift away to rest-cars and -relieve children; others stayed doggedly, just in case. Union Jacks, too.

The members of the Royal Family arrived and were escorted along their various routes to the garden entrance for St Paul's in three successive marriage processions, each escorted by Household Cavalry, and given the royal salute and the British honours of honour.

Princess Anne and Captain Mark Phillips led the first procession, followed in five other

As climax to the day, the Queen appeared, as Dea ex machina on the balcony that her grandfather first made the place of the monarchy; and she came followed here to look down and wave to an astounding sea of waving flags and a tide of rowing throats assembled in the tribal arena for a great occasion.

It would have been a frightful crowd to be in if it had not been such a cheerful and festive one. The Queen and herself for being present at a brief fanfare between movements in the music of time.

By a Staff Reporter

The woman from the London Tourist Board told me I could watch the gun salutes "completely free of charge", but would I have another 20 minutes for the phone, please? That was hardly fair, since the guns had popped off hours before.

There was still time to see Beating Retreat on Horse Guards Parade in the evening, however, which the Brits had a fine example of that ceremonial pageantry. At 6.15 a time there were other retreats to be beaten.

For the tourist of republican sympathies and no taste for martial pomp, yesterday's "British boys parade" was a desert. But there would be to do, and those who their fill of fêtes and symphonies and jambos where to find it even in London's parks was a distinctly

From John Young
St. Leonards-on-Sea

All-day sunshine, and rain squalls chased each other across the promenade; while the sea heaved demotically below. But the residents of the dozens of small hotels and boarding houses, who dominate this feeding seaside town for once, had something better to talk about than the weather.

The curtains of Bay View were drawn soon after breakfast. In the corner of the room, where a color television set presented the day's great events to an audience that by turns chattered, dozed and stared impassively at the screen.

Mrs. Hilda Frisby, a former school teacher, was one of the old-time friends of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee. She spent her holidays that year at St Leonards and recalls surprisingly that it was the Queen's patronage of the town, and not the designation of Warrior Square as billets for the troops of the Royal Household.

Her recollections of later royal occasions are less vivid. She says the town's face and laughs when the press to remember the present Queen's coronation.

She and her next-door neighbour, also a teacher, think that the town's whole life for most people has changed for the

better. Her neighbour, who insisted that her name should not appear in a newspaper, said that in her first job after university she earned £14 a month and had to pay 35 shillings a week for lodgings.

Mind you, although people said she was a peasant, not content with what they had. There was a happier atmosphere, and we did not mind working late and doing extra jobs for no extra pay.

The worst thing I remember: "The worst thing in my mind today is the way parents neglect their children," she said. Discipline was needed.

Mr Sam Needford, aged 75, spent his early life as an agricultural labourer in the Midlands, and moved to Hastings after the war to open a grocery shop. Supermarkets put him out of business. Three years ago he retired on a small pension.

He remembers the Queen's coronation well, but not her grandfather's jubilee. "I suppose we had a day off but I cannot remember for the life of me," he said.

Old men forget, and so, it seems, do women. But then, when, like Mrs Frisby, you have lived through four coronations, four funerals, three jubilees and three royal weddings, the occasion must seem much like any other.

Americans who usually start the morning with coffee and the

news works up yesterday to trumpet bliss and the arrival of the Queen and Prince Charles. The silver jubilee celebrations crossed the Atlantic on live television.

Two of the three networks, NBC and ABC, devoted several hours of the morning news programme to the thanksgiving service at St. Paul's Cathedral and Queen Elizabeth's walkabout afterwards through the streets of London.

The heavy television and newspaper coverage of the jubilee is feeding America's apparently insatiable hunger for British pomp, despite its break with the Crown just over 200 years ago.

An American affection for the Queen and her family was clearly evident in the television commentary this morning. One American reporter called the Queen "the most glamorous and a much loved world figure. Meanwhile members of New York's social elite were celebrating the jubilee with private parties.

Canadians also watched coverage by satellite of the festivities, but observations were lower compared with those that marked the Queen's coronation 25 years ago.

Queen's coronation means

The following is the text of
a sermon read by the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cogan, in St Paul's Cathedral yesterday to mark the silver jubilee.

Every one that heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them, shall liken him to a wise man: which buildeth his house upon a rock.—St Matthew 7, 24

We listened to these words of Jesus a few moments ago. How right he was! Foundations matter. Watch and good team work. These are words to which any other city, and more, what cars goes into the basic structure.

It is useless building on shallow or shifting foundations. This was said centuries ago. Foundations work must be put in, down in the depths, before ever a brick or a stone can be seen above ground. Given that, we need not fear. Whatever storms and stresses put upon the building.

We meet today in this cathedral, joined by millions all over the world who are rejoicing with us by means of radio and television, to thank Almighty God for a building which has stood the test of years because its foundations are strong. This is no material building can be seen by the eye or touched with the hand. Rather, it is something at the heart of our national life of incalculable value—a spirit-

King George VI and his beloved Queen in days of war and of post-war stress, taught us that there was no more important thing than duty.

The years that followed that reign have not been easy, but the foundation then laid has proved strong enough for another sovereign to build upon and make this a more peaceful world.

Our nation and Commonwealth have been blessed beyond measure by having at their head an example of service unfadingly done, of duty faithfully fulfilled, and of a happy, healthy and successful life.

For this we thank God. From this we take courage.

The next 25 years will take us into a new millennium. We need to know that those who will bring it may find they will be years free from doubtless they will see developments in the realm of the physical sciences which will surprise the knowledge which inspired the founders of our society will change—possibly almost beyond recognition.

But what about the foundations? Will there be an increase of wisdom as well as in knowledge or for the two are no means the same? "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," said an Old Testament writer and in saying so he meant that without which we neglect at our peril.

Many today are seeing

each for his secret interest, and forgets the good of the whole. Many are seeing the good, but are so much occupied with their own selfishness, that they have no time for thought and understanding at the heart of a people, where rivalry or suspicion could so easily lead to open conflict.

This is all to the good so far as it goes. But by itself it does not provide a foundation strong enough to resist the storms which assail it in personal, family or national life. That requires a listening to the sayings of Jesus, and then a living out of them in our daily life, down to the smallest detail. And that takes some doing!

For what was the essence of the words, the sayings, the principles of Jesus? He taught that no man could live life to the full, without first having recognition of God, "his father," to be loved, and as his king, to be obeyed. He taught that as God loved each individual, however insignificant in the eyes of men, so each should love and obey God, and carry this love and obedience right near him with respect and dignity.

He taught that the only way to build a society worthy of God, was to build it on the basis of love, to build on a willingness to give and not to grab, and to lose our lives for Christ's sake and the Gospel's. He did not only teach that by word of mouth, but he lived it out, and made it carry the lives of men and women too blind to see it.

welfare of our wider world—those who have joined in this service will remember it as a moment of great splendour and joy. That is right and good.

But if this service is to leave a mark of permanence on the lives of those who hear and see, they should be in it, it must be of their own free choice, for all that has made our life as a nation or as individuals twofold and unworthy: an act of dedication to the God who calls us to give ourselves to him and to his people; an act of sacrifice and service; and an act of thanksgiving for the way God has guided us and the leadership which he has given us in our Royal Navy.

Let us, therefore, dedication and thanksgiving. This is what matters. We listen again to the words of Jesus; we build again the foundations which have been broken down by our neglect and we create by the same word the new world which will be unstable in that it is built on our response to the living God.

Let my last word today be one of thanksgiving and in it I would like to thank you for the 25 years of service faithfully given; for God's goodness and loving-kindness to us down those years; but above all for the love and the love, to the remembrance of which by our Lord Jesus Christ, our

By Jacob Eccleston
Fleet Street's c

burst of affection for the Queen, mingled with postemonstrations of the most patriotic and loyalist nor shared by yesterday's *Morning Star*. Instead, the Communist Party's newspaper suggested in its first front page editorial that in future Mrs. Thatcher should be celebrated as a people's festival.

That was innocuous and even inoffensive, perhaps, as was the tone of the editorial censuring that "ritual rituals" and the "feudal relics". More surprising was the sheer amount of space devoted to these indirect attacks on the monarchy by a paper that usually reports the doings of Britain's head of state in a single dispassionate paragraph.

Having devoted more than half its front page to the idea of a people's festival and its

The explanation for such lavish coverage by the *Morning Star* may be in the comment of an Australian journalist who noticed "that the people who can least afford to celebrate are despised by the public."

Perhaps the durability of the monarchy as an institution and its undoubted appeal to the very sections of society that the *Morning Star* regards as its natural constituency are the momentary grinding of teeth instead of the usual optimism

live television coverage of the jubilee procession. The Sydney Morning Herald said the enthu-

"Not since the coronation had there been such splendour as this great, gilded gold coach, pulled by four horses in 1953, rolled from Buckingham Palace along the two-mile route to St Paul's Cathedral for the coronation of the new king, a ceremony of religious, military and dedication", it said.

The highlight of Australian celebrations comes on Saturday, when three thousand confetti will be scattered over the streets.

French television also broadcasts the jubilee ceremony live from St Paul's. Most French newspapers said the celebrations gave Britain a chance to "forget its problems and worries for a day".

The jubilee was also the top international item on Spanish Radio and television news bulletins.

In her speech at yesterday's Guildhall luncheon, the Queen

I have had the pleasure of being entertained here on many great occasions and I can assure you that I have never had a better place in which to celebrate my silver jubilee, both as Queen and as a citizen of this country. Your welcome and your kind words in proposing my health are most appreciated and my response to it by your guests has touched me deeply.

Guildhall, in the City of London, has stood and done monthwatch celebrations, both to all its long history it has never witnessed the presence of so many distinguished heads of government.

In the olden days jubilees were celebrated every 10th anniversary year. The horns were sounded and a period of rest, mercy and pardon was proclaimed. There were also a distinct alphabetical list drawn out to the proceedings. It is

have travelled widely throughout the Commonwealth since its birth. And during those years I have seen the Commonwealth, from the advance, the last great phase of the transformation of the Empire into Commonwealth and the transformation of the Commonwealth into a new world order, the emblem of dominion into a symbol of free and voluntary association. It history this has no precedent.

It is easy enough to define what the Commonwealth is not, indeed, it is easy enough to define what it is not. But from my own experience I know something of what it is. It is like an iceberg, except that it's not cold.

The tip is represented by the occasional meetings of the heads of state or of government, the Commonwealth Secretariat, but the ten tenths of Commonwealth activity are represented by the many meetings, the science, the arts, the peace, and unseemly cultural activities, professional, scientific, educational and economic bodies and organizations, the network of contacts within the Commonwealth.

another point of view. It has the strength of an end-in-itself for the sake of basic identity and the weakness of a desire to compromise to conflict.

It was this political perception which originally prompted the upper middle class and the bourgeoisie of the British Empire into a Commonwealth into a voluntary association, which was to be based on the principle of non-alignment which no one claims preeminence.

An association of countries like the Commonwealth has her last wisdom from the past and her vision for the future. Far from it, it can look forward with abounding hope, not only for the future of the world, but also that its example may not be the way for mankind.

It is this modest yet alluring path, which I think all states in Britain and the Commonwealth who through their loyalty and devotion to the Commonwealth and encouragement during the last 25 years.

It would be also to the many people who have sent me messages of congratulations on my

Among congratulatory messages to the Queen from many parts of the world was one from King Birendra of Nepal.

It said: "We extend to your Majesty our hearty felicitations and the best wishes for your Majesty's personal health and prosperity and for the progress and prosperity of the British people. We hail the strengthening of the friendly relations existing so happily between the two countries will be further strengthened in the years to come."

Herzog Ernst, East German head of state, called "Herzog's congratulations." He said he was sure that mutual relations would develop further.

Another jubilee.

The Central Band of the RAF flies to Amman today to take part in the silver jubilee celebrations of King Husain of Jordan. He is an honorary Marshal of the RAF.

Red Devils bow out

The Red Devils, the Army's daring freefall parachute team, did not brave the blustery weather to put their display on at the Surrey County Jubilee show at Guildford yesterday.

Dustmen accept peace formula

Dustmen, in Hammersmith, London, who planned to leave all rubbish resulting from the jubilee revels rotting in the streets unless each got a £40 bonus from the council, accepted a peace formula yesterday.

£125,000 gift to appeal fund

Hongkong, June 7.—A local banker, Mr Ma Ching-wei, today contributed \$1m (about £125,000) to an appeal fund for the jubilee.

The fund, which now stands at \$4m (£500,000) will raise money for welfare projects for

In Bangkok more than a thousand Britons attended a gala reception at the British Embassy. Mr. Pachariyongkon, the Foreign Minister, and General Chamurand, one of Thailand's senior officers, led the Thai government representation. Thailand has the only

silver jubilee is of a somewhat different nature.) But if this is not exactly a period of rest for us, it is certainly one of refreshment and of happiness and satisfaction. And the best of it is that it is giving us the chance to meet so many people in so many countries of the Commonwealth, to renew old friendships and to make new ones. At the silver jubilee of 1935 and at my coronation the Empire and the Commonwealth came to London: this time the travelling is in both directions and I think we can

and much valued. And right at the base of the iceberg, the part which keeps the rest afloat is friendship and communication, largely in the English language, between peoples who were originally brought together by the events of history and who now understand that they share a common humanity.

I have also no doubt that, politically, the Commonwealth has something rare and valuable to offer. A capacity for enlightened tolerance, the ability to

wishes for the future.
 In these messages I have sensed
 a spirit of happiness, friendship
 and hope and the recognition that
 people are important as individuals
 and have a responsibility for each
 other. May that spirit stay with
 us when these dedications are
 over.
 My Lord Mayor, when I was 21,
 I pledged my life to the service of
 our people and I asked for God's
 help to make good that vow.
 Although that vow was made
 "in my salad days" when I was

and make their contribution to the deepening of détente on the basis of the 1975 Helsinki security conference decisions.

The Queen also received cables that read: "Congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of your silver jubilee from all staff at Treator Nyeri, Kenya".

It was while she was viewing game at Trempers on the night of February 5-6, 1952, that she then Princess Elizabeth

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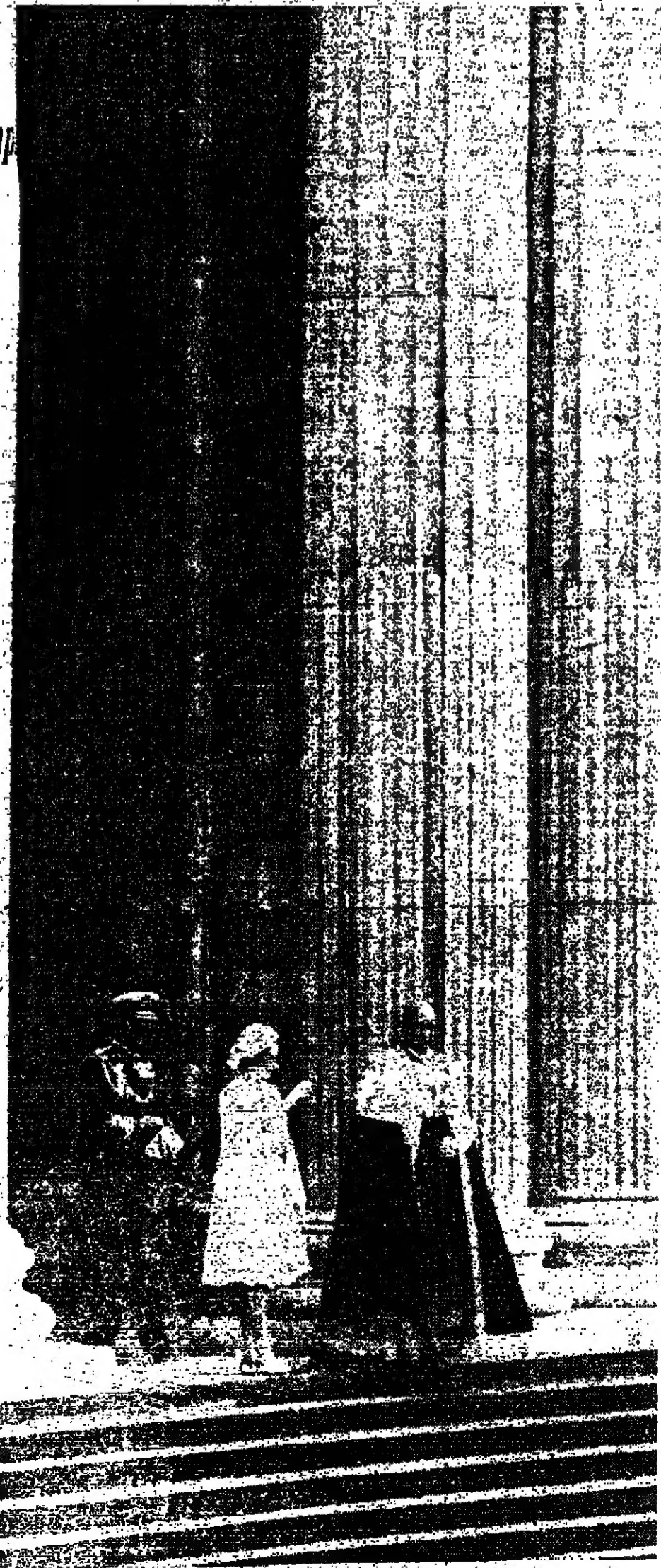


Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh are joined on the balcony at Buckingham Palace by Princess Anne and Captain Phillips, Lord Mountbatten, Princess Margaret and Prince Andrew. Part of the crowd, which filled the Mall to cheer the Queen.



The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh arrive in The State Coach at Temple Bar.

Jubilee photographic coverage for The Times by Harry Kerr, Bill Wachurst, Dennis Risley, Brian Harris, David Jones, Jonathan Player, Keystone Press agency and NPA rota photographers.



Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh leaving St Paul's Cathedral with the Mayor of London, Sir Rob'n Gillett.



The Duke and Duchess of Kent during the service of Thanksgiving at St Paul's with their children (from left) Lord St Andrews, Lady Helen Windsor and Lord Nicholas Windsor.



Above: Lord Snowdon talking with his children, Lord Linley and Lady Sarah Armstrong-Jones, after the service. Left: The Prince of Wales, Prince Andrew and Prince Edward with Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother.

Dutch ad terrorists are tough this time

Assen, June 7.—T. Moluccan guenon in hostages in a train en in northern Holland their sieges into the day, the longest such Dutch criminal histor.

Seven guerrillas over the Indonesian in Amsterdam during ber 1975 surrendered days and one hour. 7 partrons, who seized a hijacked train at the same occasion, gav 12 days and two hou

Showing no hurry the dedicates at meation with th Moluccans, today's authorities coolly as moves from what are

as much tougher than they have faced. They are different sense that they are tough with their host much tougher with allies," the spokesman firing that modifier.

men on May 27, welcoming today.

The pupils went to school and their parents only after the author promised that police took the building.

South Missouri did not have a military. Their parents wish to keep them until pension has been: Reuter, AP and Agence Presse.

New clash (EEC seat at nuclear t

From Our Own Correspondent, Brussels, June 7.

The European Commission heading for another clash with EEC member states over its right to compete in international as the defender of the

An issue on this is the Commission's decision to allow to take part in the EEC's nuclear establishment by the EEC summit on the consideration of ways of nuclear proliferation to examine alternative production of hydrogen, that would be considered.

Senior officials from seven countries will be Downing Street the United States

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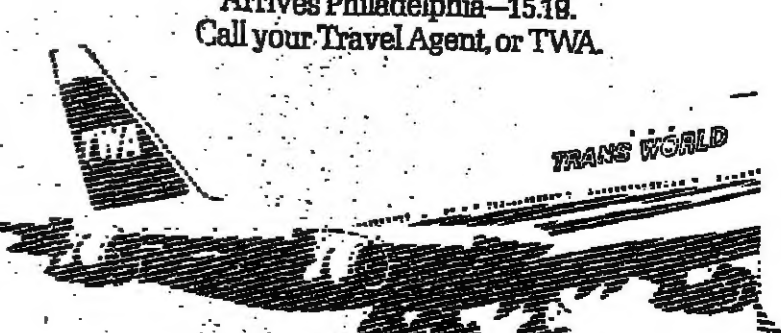
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OVERSEAS

Britain mishandling its African policy, President Kaunda says

By David Spanier
Diplomatic Correspondent

President Kaunda of Zambia, who will make the keynote address at the Commonwealth conference today, last night accused the British Government of seriously mishandling its African policy.

He said he had felt "dismay and disgust" at the way the British Government had passed on the recent threat to Zambia made by Mr Ian Smith, the Rhodesian leader. As for the prospect of a negotiated settlement on the lines of the Foreign Secretary, he saw little reason to expect a positive result.

Speaking more in sorrow than in anger, President Kaunda said in an eve of the conference interview that the British Government's policy was "questioned" in the West in seeking justice for black people in southern Africa, and wondered if he simply failed to understand Western leaders' policy.

"Does the West intend to do anything about applying oil sanctions against Rhodesia?" he asked. "We have put the problem forward for 10 or 11 years. They have done nothing."

The Zambian Government was attempting to take legal action against oil companies for breaking sanctions. But if oil companies were partly under Government ownership, surely they should be doing something, he suggested.

President Kaunda feels particularly strongly on this issue.

maintaining that an oil embargo would have "brought Smith to his knees from the word go."

Reviewing the latest attempt by Britain and the United States to bring about a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia, President Kaunda commented: "Once Britain, twice shy, and we have been broken several times." Recalling all the past efforts to get a settlement, which proved to be in vain, he said that until the new initiative actually achieved something, he could not really believe in it.

The attempt was worth trying, he added, provided it did not stop the armed struggle by the Patriotic Front, which was proving a success.

What has evidently incensed the President most, however, was the way the threat by Mr Smith, that he was considering military action against Zambia, was passed on to Lusaka by Britain. "We are realistic enough to know that sooner or later a dying horse would kick its hind legs before it gives up the ghost," he said.

But the British Government should never have accepted threats from Rhodesia in the way it did. It should have told Mr Smith to desist and passed the word on quickly.

The President added that Zambia was able to defend itself and if the need arose would not hesitate to call on outside help. Did this mean Cubans? "Not necessarily. We have many friends."

Words speak louder than action, page 14; Leading article, page 15.



Mr Beigin praying yesterday at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem.

Mr Beigin agrees to form Cabinet

From Moshe Brilliant
Tel Aviv, June 7

Mr Menachem Beigin, the leader of the Likud party, formally became Prime Minister-designate of Israel today when he immediately accepted the mandate offered by President Katsir, waiving the 72-hour he was allowed to think it over.

He has been negotiating coalition agreements with other parties since Likud won the largest number of Knesset seats in the general election on May 17 and it was a foregone con-

clusion that he would receive the mandate.

Mr Beigin is already able to form a coalition comprising Likud and the religious parties, which together would have a slight majority in Parliament, but he is trying to win over the Democratic Movement for Change whose 15 seats would give the Government a more comfortable margin and reduce its vulnerability to pressures from the religious parties.

One stumbling block is the DMC's advocacy of territorial concessions to Jordan to obtain peace. Likud says that the

entire area west of the Jordan must remain Israeli. The DMC also opposes widespread Jewish settlement that it is limited to demands that it be limited to security needs.

Mr Beigin was given three weeks to form a government but the President is authorized to extend the deadline for various periods not exceeding another 21 days.

Today Mr Beigin renewed his invitation to the Labour Party to join Likud in a government of national unity to tackle the crucial domestic and foreign problems.

E Europe 'falling short of detente pledges'

From Patrick Brogan
Washington, June 7

The Carter Administration has told the congressional commission set up to examine the consequences of the Helsinki agreement on detente that the Eastern Europeans have fallen far short of their promises in most of its provisions.

Mr Cyrus Vance, the Secretary of State, said yesterday that, despite this, there had been some favourable consequences of the agreement and that it had been an overall failure.

He said that Helsinki must be judged by the long run, over a period of years. A first preparatory meeting in Belgrade will assemble on June 15. The full conference, to report on progress under the Helsinki agreement will gather in the autumn. The Administration's statement to the congressional commission said: "We have no desire to see the Belgrade meeting devolve into an exchange of recrimination and polemics."

The report is none the less severe towards the eastern bloc. It notes that the Soviet Union, which is celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of its revolution this year, is much more repressive than any of its east European allies, including Czechoslovakia.

In his testimony to the congressional commission yesterday, and in the report, Mr Vance stated that there was a fundamental conflict of view between the two sides. The West considers that the provisions concerning human rights and the free flow of information and people across frontiers, permit

signatories to monitor one another's performance. The eastern bloc calls such monitoring "interference in domestic affairs."

The report gives a number of examples of violations of human rights in Russia and its allies, most notably Czechoslovakia.

It said the United States believes that implementing the agreement is "a matter of obvious and legitimate concern" to all signatories.

It observes that working conditions for journalists have deteriorated, especially in Czechoslovakia. Exit visas are hard to obtain, most of all in Russia and East Germany (where 100,000 people have applied to emigrate). Family reunions are still hindered in most Eastern bloc countries.

It states that cultural exchanges have progressed notably since Helsinki, and trade is increasing. American officials testifying to the congressional commission observed that the Eastern bloc preferred to look to the future, to submit new proposals and to push for them at Belgrade, while the West was more concerned with examining the way existing commitments had been met before entering into new ones.

Moscow, June 7.—President Carter's emphasis on human rights is an attempt to distort the true meaning of the Helsinki accords for propaganda purposes, Mr Yuri Kornilov, Tass news agency's leading political commentator, said today. In ignoring other important political aspects of the accords, President Carter was impeding their strict implementation.—AP.

Rhodesia power cut threat to Zambia

From Our Correspondent
Salisbury, June 7

A Rhodesian minister today threatened to cut off power to Zambia from the Kariba hydro electric complex if President Kaunda did not restrict his troops from launching "unprovoked attacks on Rhodesia" like last Sunday's mortar bombardment of Kariba township.

Accusing Zambia of a "criminal act of aggression" against oil companies, Minister of Combined Operations, said such hostilities could lead only to an escalation of the conflict.

He called on the British and American Governments to demonstrate their sincerity by condemning the Zambian action.

A government source said today that if the Rev Ndabaningi Sithole, the African nationalist leader, returned to Rhodesia he would face detention. Mr Sithole, a former president of the Zimbabwe African National Union was quoted yesterday as saying from Lusaka that he would return.

Lusaka, June 7.—A Zambian Government source observed that the country was self-sufficient in electricity with surplus power available for export.

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General denounces paper

From Our Correspondent
Buenos Aires, June 7

General Iberico Saint Jean, Governor of Buenos Aires Province, last night denounced *The New York Times* as "irresponsible" for publishing a leading article accusing him of genocidal tendencies.

General Saint Jean was identified in a leading article on May 25 in the paper as the supposed leader of a group of right-wing Argentine generals ready to take over the Government. He was clearly incensed by the allegations against him when he met reporters.

He particularly went out of his way to deny words attributed to him in the leading article expressing his supposed readiness to kill anyone remotely linked with left-wing guerrillas or simply showing a backward attitude towards the continuation with them.

More names on Mr Young's list of 'racists'

Washington, June 7.—Mr Andrew Young, the outspoken American permanent representative at the United Nations, today emerged from a meeting with President Carter saying he had not been rebuffed for his controversial remarks and that the President "did not tell me to shut up."

The White House meeting took place soon after Mr Young had told a congressional committee that former Presidents Kennedy and Johnson could be described as racists, a term he has already applied to ex-Presidents Ford and Nixon.—Reuter.

Mr Desai belies his age by his astonishing energy

By Roger Berthoud

His astonishing vitality seemingly undimmed by a 16-hour flight from Delhi, Mr Morarji Desai, India's 82-year-old Prime Minister, arrived in London yesterday for the Commonwealth conference.

On the way he fitted in a talk with the Shah of Iran during a two-hour stopover in Teheran. Almost immediately after arriving in London he saw Mr Callaghan, going straight on to a press conference at India House where he demonstrated his virtuosity as a verbal fencer.

"Would India sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty? Certainly," he replied, "when those asking me decide to give up nuclear weapons. Those who commit thefts have no business to tell me not to be a thief."

India's nuclear policy was clear, "We are not going to have any atomic weapons."

Asked if he would be taking up the question of racial discrimination against Indians in Britain, he replied: "If this is taken up quickly, there will be better results."

There were some excited questions about the behaviour of the Indian High Commission in London during Mrs Gandhi's state of emergency, which Mr Desai cut short by asking for questions, not lectures.

Even the correspondent of the *Washington Post* received short shrift when he began a question by observing: "It is said you cannot eat civil rights." "I hope you are not in the habit of eating these things," Mr Desai quipped.

He was astonished to be asked how he considered the state of democracy in India now. How, he wondered, could such a question be asked after the demonstration of its vitality at the last elections?

Miami votes on rights of homosexuals

From Peter Strafford
New York, June 7

Polling took place in Miami today at the end of a bitter and outspoken campaign on the issue of homosexual rights. The campaign has been widely reported across the United States. The outcome is expected to have repercussions on official attitudes to homosexuality in many other parts of the country.

At issue is an ordinance adopted by Dade county, which

includes Miami, banning discrimination in housing, jobs or public accommodation based on affectional or sexual preferences. The ordinance is similar to many that have been passed elsewhere, but in Miami it has run into a storm of opposition.

A group known as Save Our Children, Inc, gathered enough signatures to force a referendum on the ordinance. Its best known member, Mrs Anita Bryant, a singer, has made her

self famous by her denunciations of "the sin of homosexuality," which she has backed up with quotations from the Old Testament.

Like many other members of her camp, Mrs Bryant is a fundamentalist Baptist.

She regards her campaign against homosexuality as a religious mission. She has said that if God had condoned homosexuality, he would have created "Adam and Bruce" in the Garden of Eden.

Chicago voters expected to back Daley man

From Our Own Correspondent
New York, June 7

The voters of Chicago went to the polls today to elect a successor to Mr Richard Daley, who died last year after being mayor for more than 20 years. The expectation was that they would choose Mr Michael Bilandic, a close associate of Mr Daley's, who has been the acting mayor until now.

Mr Bilandic has hardly bothered to campaign. Since winning the Democratic primary in April, he has been assured of the support of the powerful Democratic Party machine in the city and the assumption is that this will be enough to put him into office.

Mr Dennis Block, the Republican candidate, has said that he hopes to get 20 per cent of the vote, in order to save his and his party's face. Candidates of the smaller parties are not expected to make much difference.

Bank manager freed

Bogotá, June 7.—Signor Giuseppe Mendini, aged 52, manager of the Franco-Italian Bank of Colombia, was released today after 88 days in the hands of kidnappers who had demanded payment of a \$50m (£30m) ransom. It was not known whether the ransom was paid.

From the artist who painted the Queen's official Jubilee portrait



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THE OFFICIAL portrait of Her Majesty the Queen in Jubilee Year unveiled by Prince Charles at the Commonwealth Conference in London is destined to be one of the most historic as well as one of the most famous Royal portraits of our time.

Commissioned by the Government of Australia as a gift to the whole Commonwealth, the painting by the distinguished artist Paul Fitzgerald shows the Queen not only as she will be remembered in the twenty-fifth year of her reign, but also as she really is.

Not since Annigoni's portrait of the young Queen at the birth of her reign in 1954 has there been a picture likely to have such popular impact — a painting which is in itself a milestone.

It is with pride therefore that the Library of Imperial History announces a simultaneous limited edition in solid sterling silver by the same Royal artist — a design by Paul Fitzgerald taken from sketches of the official portrait.

The edition, a world exclusive strictly limited to 2,000 examples only, provides an outstanding collector's issue: a Jubilee limited edition based on the Jubilee Royal portrait designed by the Jubilee Royal artist and bearing the Jubilee hallmark.

The Commonwealth Silver Jubilee Plate. As in the official full-length portrait, the Queen is depicted wearing a sapphire diamond tiara and the matching necklace given to her as a wedding present by her father King George VI. The painting was done at Buckingham Palace, and the design of the Commonwealth Silver Jubilee Plate is taken from Fitzgerald's sketches made there as part of his work on the official portrait.

Although the Jubilee painting must rank as Fitzgerald's most important, it is not his first Royal portrait. He painted the Queen in 1963, Prince Philip in 1974 and 1975, and this year also completes an official portrait of Prince Charles.

Each nine-inch plate in the limited edition is numbered, weighs approximately 12 ozs. Troy, and is additionally accompanied by a certificate of authenticity personally signed by Fitzgerald.

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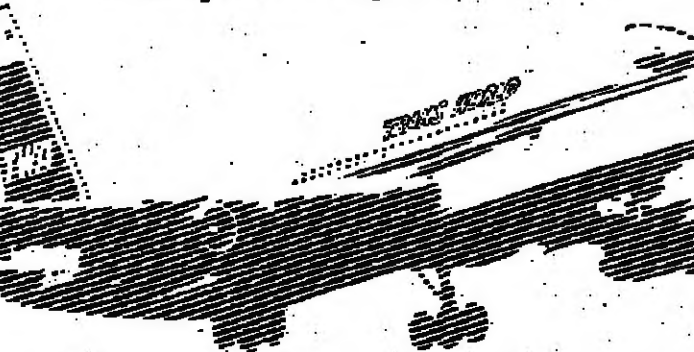
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Football

to ignore. It would also, in my opinion, give them a chance to restore their battered prestige. Meanwhile, there remains the tenuous Cup between Britain and the Continent represented by a series of ill. No challenge match should be allowed to interfere with this attractive fixture following a format bravely taken up by the C.A. but, in the form of a challenge for the Cup between the two sides, the challenge would be discarded because the challenge was not sharp enough: Britain were too good, so that has changed and an encounter between these two forces, if its renewal, would take place in a really worthwhile atmosphere.

Peter Ryde

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Tom Jackson on the wider implications of the Gouriet judgment

How the judges declared open season on the unions for right-wing hunters

Few people have appreciated the wider significance of the long-running skirmish between the National Association for Freedom and the Post Office unions, which reaches its climax in the House of Lords next week. A great deal more is at stake than a parochial legal wrangle over the anomalous restrictions on the right to strike of Post Office workers: their lordships' judgment will test the real effectiveness of recent Labour Government legislation to safeguard trade union rights.

In short, when the Union of Post Office Workers and the Post Office Engineering Union, with the assistance of the TUC, appeal against the decisions of Lord Denning's Court of Appeal on January 27, we shall be defending the whole trade union movement from a potentially grave threat to its interests.

The story goes back to last November, when the UPW backed mail to the Grunwick film processing laboratory which was refusing its workers the right to join a union. The National Association for Freedom (NAFF) immediately sought an injunction against us on the grounds that we were infringing Sections 58 and 68 of the 1953 Post Office Act, which made it an offence to

"wilfully detain or delay" the mails or to encourage others to do so. However, the issue was not decided, since we agreed to drop our boycott in response to the company's agreement to allow the Arbitration and Conciliation Advisory Service to arbitrate.

Then came the proposed one-week boycott in mid-January of mails and telephone calls to South Africa. Within hours of the UPW's boycott plans leaking to the press, the director of the NAFF, Mr John Gouriet, asked the Attorney General to seek an injunction restraining the UPW and also the POEU, who had joined the boycott. When Mr Sam Silkin refused, Mr Gouriet, obviously well prepared for just such an eventuality, went straight to the High Court. But there again he was turned down, for Mr Justice Stocker stated that he could not override the Attorney General's prerogative to exercise his discretion.

Rebuffed, Mr Gouriet then appealed to Lord Denning. A special sitting of the Court of Appeal was convened on the morning of Saturday, January 15—only 36 hours before the boycott was due to begin—and Lord Denning came to the rescue of the NAFF and granted an interim injunction against us.

However, the subsequent public controversy concentrated exclusively on the dramatic constitutional clash between the Attorney General and the judges, and in the process the wider threat to trade unionism was forgotten.

Although the judges decided by 2 to 1—Lord Denning in the minority—that they could not review the Attorney General's discretion, they also decided that the refusal of the Attorney General to prevent Mr Gouriet from going ahead with his own proceedings, he could not obtain a permanent injunction, but could seek what is called a "declaration of illegality" and on the strength of this could be granted an interim injunction pending a full appeal to the House of Lords. This precedent was revoked.

The effect of the judgment is that any private citizen who has no special interest at stake, but is claiming to uphold some general public right, is entitled to apply to the court for a declaration that any trade union conduct of which he disapproves is either a criminal act or at least unlawful, and could obtain a temporary injunction while the court deliberates on his application for a declaration.

Stripped of its legal jargon, what this means is that the

majority decision of the Court of Appeal has enormously extended the range of people who are able to mount civil proceedings to frustrate the actions of trade unions. Prior to this a private citizen would, for all practical purposes, have to show that he was suffering personal damage before he could sue the union. And even then the 1974-76 Trade Union and Labour Relations Acts afford substantial protection to unions and their members, and grant almost complete immunity from liability if sued. Where a private citizen could not claim a special interest but was claiming a breach of some public right, he would in the past have had to obtain the Attorney General's consent. Without such consent he could go no further. The appeal judges changed all that when they allowed such a private citizen to bypass the Attorney General, if he refuses to act, and go straight to the High Court.

It is important to recognize that the trade union actions concerned would not necessarily be limited to a case where a criminal act is threatened. It is a small step beyond this decision for a court in some future case to hold that a private individual can institute civil proceedings against a

union to restrain conduct which, while perhaps not illegal in the sense of being criminal, is nevertheless unlawful.

Industrial action sometimes involves activities such as threatening a breach of contract, which would normally be regarded as unlawful. Consequently, despite the immunities provided under Section 13 of the 1974-76 Acts, such activities would be vulnerable to the injunction procedure endorsed by the Court of Appeal.

That these far-reaching implications should have been missed out of the acres of newspaper surrounding the Silkin v Denning clash can be attributed in part to the subtlety of the legal argument employed. Reporters in court confessed afterwards to having not understood the implications of the judgment. Having considered the small print, Labour lawyers are now convinced that the Gouriet judgment could be extended by successive judges to drive a coach and horses through the immunities conferred on unions by recent legislation. The history of trade union legislation since at least 1906 has been that of the courts having detected considerable judicial ingenuity to side-step statutory provisions enacted by Parliament.

The protection conferred by Sections 13 and 14 of the Trade

Union and Labour Relations Acts, for example, could not be more clearly stated. Nevertheless, Lord Justice Lawton's judgment in the Gouriet case showed how unwilling the court was to accept them. "This might well be the state of the law," he conceded at one stage, but "if it is, the public, in my opinion, have cause for concern", and he went on to suggest a loophole by means of the injunction procedure.

The bands of the trade union movement over the past 100 years to gain and preserve statutory immunity and protection for its activities has been a long, hard fight. Next week's hearing by the Law Lords will determine whether the benefits we have gained are once more at risk. If the Court of Appeal's decision is upheld, then consideration may have to be given to further parliamentary legislation to ensure that the benefits and immunities conferred by the recent Acts are fully preserved. For as things stand, open season has been declared for right-wing groups to place trade union action in jeopardy by sympathetic action or industrial action on human rights issues.

The author is General Secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers.

Bernard Levin

Tasting the fruits of a ripe new age

In general the picture of the music starving in a garret is a myth

A recent performance of all six Bartok quartets in two concerts by the New Hungarian Quartet (but I can remember the old one) set off a series of reflections. (The first of which, I may say, was that Muller is growing old; he flatly refused to come and indeed began to scream and throw himself about in a most distressful manner, insisting that two consecutive evenings of Bartok quartets would kill him.)

I can trace my reaction to these extraordinary works through high on 30 years. When I first heard them, I simply could not make head or tail of a single bar, and gave them up as so much meaningless cacophony. Then I did not set ears on them for more than a decade, when, feeling that I ought to try again, I had another go, and was amazed to find how accessible they had become in the meantime. To be sure, I did not go about whistling the tunes (he would have a curious configuration of the lines and palate who could), but there was no doubt in my mind, at the end of my second serious attempt, not only that the set meant something, but that each work had a real musical structure.

Yet the quartets, in the dozen years that had elapsed between hearings, had not changed. No doubt I had; but hardly in relation to these works, for I had not listened to them in all that time. So what was the new element in the equation?

Only, I take it, the world. The fundamental change had occurred in the circumstances: the quartet was no longer a quartet, with each player listening in a different musical world.

It is a truism that great artists are ahead of their time; in addition to being a truism, however, it is almost invariably false. Certainly, there was a man in the gallery at the first performance of the *Quartet* who called out "I'd pay another five pounds if the thing would stop!" Today, the *Quartet* is a masterpiece, a masterpiece in the history of music. It is a masterpiece in the history of music, a masterpiece in the history of music, a masterpiece in the history of music.

Understand, though, in his early days he was by no means the widely popular composer he has become. The *Concerto for Orchestra* has long been a masterpiece part of the repertoire; it was not an outcast, ignored by public and professionals alike. That much is hardly true of the *Quartet*, however. It was a work that, at first, was not taken seriously. But it is one thing to say music to win respect; it is quite another for it to achieve real understanding; and yet another for it to be truly popular. (Though I can think of no truly significant composer, or other artist, who has not been misunderstood, deeply into the heart of man, and brought back what he found there, and yet failed to win a general following. It could hardly be otherwise; it is the greatest of all universals, and any artist who speaks to us all about something that affects us all will command our attention.)

It may be, though it would, © Times Newspapers

Words speak louder than action for Commonwealth leaders

In the next 10 days leaders of 35 Commonwealth countries, representing a quarter of the world's population, hold their biennial meeting here in London, with a weekend interlude at Gleneagles. Although the statistics of the occasion are impressive, the reality is somewhat elusive. What are they all going to do, these great men?

The answer is to talk, in a fairly unbuttoned way, and not attempt to take decisions of any moment. Most of the articles about the Commonwealth, as one recalls, end up by saying that to get together and talk is a worthy objective in itself, and sufficient justification for the Commonwealth's continuing existence.

Well, maybe so, but the Amin affair shows how difficult it is to talk frankly. The British Government has had to go to enormous lengths to secure the non-productive result of keeping the Ugandan President out.

For it is out of the question, in the modern world, for a country like Britain to speak its mind openly. Our influence is fragile and pathetically circumscribed. To have acted to bar President Amin (whose regime is not the worst in Africa) from the outset would have caused great ructions among other African states (last year, after all, Amin was President of the Organisation of

African Unity), and probably led to the break up of the Commonwealth.

The question is whether a Commonwealth which cannot pronounce itself in favour of basic moral values would be worth having anyway. The secretary general, Mr Sirindho Ramphal, has gone some way to expressing this concern.

"How to strike the balance of political judgment between the two extremes of declamation and silence is sometimes difficult," he says, "but it would be entirely illusory to believe that such a judgment could, or indeed should, be avoided altogether. There will be times in the affairs of the Commonwealth when one member's conduct will provoke the wrath of others beyond the limits of silence. Any other relationship would be so sterile as to be futile."

All the same, it seems unlikely that the Commonwealth will be able to accommodate the still less defensible where it stands on matters of principle, by drawing up a code of good conduct which its members should respect. There are too many skeletons around too many moral ambiguities to resolve.

Judging from past form, the Commonwealth will probably devote much of its time to southern Africa, Rhodesia is a moral issue, certainly, and on



this Commonwealth solidarity does count for something. It will be interesting to see if Britain is still in the dock as the Africans have placed successive governments, Labour or Conservative. Despite the repeated and laborious efforts to promote a settlement in Rhodesia, Britain still tends to be criticised and has received scant thanks along the way. At heart the Africans remain suspicious of Britain's role and still blame Britain for failing to act decisively both at the time of Mr Smith's seizure of power and later.

The limitations of talking, even easier, friendly countries, are evident enough. This applies even in the economic sphere. In theory members of the Commonwealth, because they appreciate each other's point of view, can play a more conciliatory role when it comes to wider international meetings, as at the United Nations. But as the collapse into anarchy of the recent North-South dialogue in Paris shows, there is a gap between theory and practice.

Can the Commonwealth help to smooth things over? It would be encouraging to think so. A good deal of work has been done by economic officials in preparation for a summit conference to help close the gap between rich and poor. But its practical effects are questionable.

Britain may argue against confrontation, and rightly so. The difficulty of making progress may be seen in the fact that three different sets of negotiations were required before the real negotiations started in the North-South dialogue. The Government had first to adjudicate between conflicting interests in Whitehall, it then had to go through a complicated battle with its EEC partners in Brussels, and finally to industrial countries. A group tried to present a common front at the conference proper. In such a maze, to suppose that the Commonwealth can "light the way" seems wishful thinking.

Yet however limited, the Commonwealth may be, no one would really want it to disappear. Mr Ramphal, never loath to use seven or eight words where one would do, says the Commonwealth is not a club but "a comingling of humanity in all its variety". It is a sentimental, well-meaning, slightly confused, later-day survival of old historical ideas; it meets like this only once in two years; everyone speaks the same language; and it costs little to run. Let us hope the conversation flows.

David Spenser
Diplomatic Correspondent

The risks in linking language to nationalist politics

In the main hall of the museum of the Romanian Communist Party in Bucharest, among glass cases containing fading party membership cards and yellowing sheets of historic agitprop, there stands a replica of Trajan's Column in Rome, with its Latin inscriptions.

At first glance, it might appear that a monument celebrating the glories of the Roman Empire has very little to do with the politics of the Romanian Communist Party. But since its presence in this place is clearly not accidental, it might be an idea to take a second look.

In fact it is connected, not only with Romanian Communist policy, but also with the current moves in Quebec to displace English as the language of the province. The link is the political power that can reside in a question of language.

Since the early 1960s, Romanian foreign policy has emphasized its independence of the Soviet Union. The Government has followed a parallel policy

in the cultural area, designed to stress that Romania, though surrounded on three sides by Slavic countries, is historically, and linguistically a Latin nation rather than a Slavic one, and is closer to Western Europe than to Russia.

Hence, French has replaced Russian as the first foreign language taught in schools. The spelling of the country's name has been changed from "Rumania" to "Romania". And—yes, here it is—the replica Trajan's Column, with its Latin inscription, stands as a decoration in the party museum, probably for the first time in several centuries that the Latin language has been used for a political purpose.

Actually, Romania and Quebec illustrate two ways in which the power of a language issue can be manifested. In Romania the current flows from politics into language; language is used as an instrument of political policy. We see the same phenomenon at the other end of Russia's long

European frontier, in Finland. Finland is officially bilingual in Finnish and Swedish, not only to accommodate the country's small Swedish-speaking minority, but also, in view of Finland's delicate position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, to emphasize its ties with the rest of Scandinavia.

In Quebec, the current flows from language into politics, which is the more common situation. French speakers there feel strongly about the status of their language, and René Lévesque, the new provincial premier, is giving political expression.

As ethnic groups assert their identity with new political demands, language usually plays a part. The very phrase "mother tongue" indicates how deep are the roots of people's feelings about their language and its dignity.

So we have Welsh nationalists demanding the right to conduct their lives in Welsh, and Basques, Catalans, Bretons and Flemings making the same de-

mand on behalf of their own language. Not to mention the much more violent language disputes that have erupted from time to time on the Indian sub-continent.

The issue in these disputes is not only a symbolic one. Where two languages coexist, one is usually subordinated to the other. The University of Montreal has just published a study which shows that though French is the language of the majority, English-speakers earn more money on the average, which surprised nobody.

English-speaking Canadians tell jokes about French-Canadians that are the equivalent of our "Irish jokes". It was the situation in England in the twelfth century, when Norman French was the dominant language and Anglo-Saxon the language of the lower orders; and in Scotland in the eighteenth century. It was the situation in South Africa, where it was better to speak English than Afrikaans.

It is the situation today in Belgium, where Flemings and Walloons quarrel about which language should be the official language of the country. The revival did not, even though bilingual Hebrew needed more reviving than Gaelic to turn it into a modern language. I recall an Israeli in his 40s telling me, with aristocratic pride, "Hebrew is my mother's modern tongue, and there aren't many people of my age who can say that."

But it triumphed as a price. Any Israeli who knows only Hebrew is separated from much of the western world, which is why this nation has inherited, despite new outbursts of linguistic assertion, some languages will still be driven into extinction by the exigencies of the day. Because each mother tongue is both a means of establishing a collective identity and a special way of looking at the world, the event when it happens, calls for a respectful sympathy for the bereaved.

Norman Moss

Ever had ringing in your ears?

For every second of every day

The condition known as tinnitus takes many forms. A profoundly deaf person may hear bells ringing inside his head. Continuously. For every waking moment. Or he may hear the scream of machinery. Or noises like escaping steam, or rushing water. It is not unusual to hear two or three different sounds at the same time.

The RNID would like what it can to help sufferers from tinnitus and all other forms of deafness. To provide this help costs an enormous amount of money. And money, today, is painfully hard to find.

If you can hear, will you be thankful? And help someone less fortunate by means of a donation, a mention in your Will or by Deed of Covenant. Please do something. And do it today.

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Mrs Thatcher to acquire a Welsh voice?

Sunday newspaper speculation that Mrs Thatcher is to be named for the job of press liaison chief to Mrs Thatcher does not displease—mor, one suspects, surprise—Russell Lewis. "But I think it's all hypothetical," he told me at his Carshalton home, Surrey.

Cardiff-born Mr Lewis has a formidable list of qualifications for the Thatcher job. He is a sharp-penned political journalist and economic whizz-kid. As director of the Conservative Political Centre during the Heath days, he made no secret of his disagreements with the former leader. He is a former chairman of the Bow Group and is current president of the Selsdon Group.

Rumours, not long ago, that he was to become speech writer to Mrs Thatcher came to nothing.

Certainly, no potential prime minister could have a more committed propagandist. Mr Lewis's recent biography of Mrs Thatcher ends with these words: "It is a matter of vast good fortune for this country... that the Conservatives have a leader with a genuine alternative to the use of state power. A real opportunity to restore prosperity, social harmony and national self-respect."

By George! the nation rejoiced

I regret to announce a slight lapse in the customary accuracy of Sir Charles Pearce, the eminent historian. I refer him to the account of George III's jubilee celebrations in *The Times* yesterday.

Sir Charles writes in the current issue of *Contemporary Review* that "the fifty years of George III in 1810 was scarcely noticed, or at any rate hardly observed".

The king's golden jubilee had, however, been joyously celebrated throughout the country and empire in the previous year on October 25, 1809, that date being the fifth anniversary of his accession to the throne.

Amidst the jollity, a humane touch was introduced by the pardoning of all deserters from the navy, whether they returned to duty or not. This act was all the more remarkable in that Britain was at war with France.

London observations

The greater part of the Australian diplomatic delegation to the Commonwealth Conference is lodged at the Savoy Hotel. Margaret Fraser's busy young men seem always to be in a hurry and, as waiters in the Grill have pointed out, do not realize that chateaubriand, very well done takes more than five minutes to cook.

The waiters are called "mate" and "cobber" and many of them believe that "tubes of forries" (when asked for) are underground trains full of uniformed constables.

Further west, the jubilee decorations in Burlington Arcade are a clear indication of how the shoppers and the shopkeepers of this land feel. All the countries of the Commonwealth are represented by their national flags (several times) except for Uganda, which is not represented at all.

Out of court
As if he did not have enough to worry about, President Carter is reported by the *Washington Post* as having received the right personally to vet the use of state of the White House tennis court.

Poke in the eye for the cynics

Sweets with names like Ruby Road and Jewel Road in east London were made for Jubilee parties. The terraced dwellings of Walthamstow, built between the Lea marshes and Epping Forest in the 1890's to house the clerks and artisans and brought within easy reach of the City by the expanding Great Eastern Railway, have yet to suffer from the blight of the modern planner. The sense of community remains.

Monarchist to the core, the display of Royal portraits and Union Jacks would have gladdened the old Imperialist heart of Joe Chamberlain. Only Ruby Road's house-radiators, a social-working couple by profession, had any qualms.

"We want to show a sense of community without being servile," explained the progressive wife. An inspired compromise was found. Happy Day, their 100th birthday, was proclaimed in a paper.

Staple street party fancy dress compen the children's tea. The paper, was were by that ubiquitous modern celebration, theque. A pub piano, with pub pianist, was to belt out "There'll an England" for photographer from 77 Times.

The last time Ruby roads did themselves the Coronation in 19 the then MP, Mr At and had his picture t the children. Nobody was present on this day. The police rounde fine style by sending flash its lights, sound and race up the su midnight. Sweeney s

Postscript: A London reader—telegraphic address "h writes to point out that horses do not eat straw, parti underground car parks. He fee they will interrupt t South Bank firework display with some extraordinary Apropos of my item on chain mail, a reader says tha sent out 20 copies within 96 hours of receiving the total of 26,947,368,421 letters would have been reciev end of the month. Sent second class, the revenue wa been £1,251,578,947. More on those morale-shattering names. To be added to the list of the afflicted: Jettice Liberty Belle and Easter Lilly. The Tasmania re appealed to PHS for slate pencils, for his schoolbags is now receiving more than he can cope with.



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LEAD FROM THE COMMONWEALTH

in, in her moving speech at yesterday, made plea for the virtues of commonwealth association. It, above all else, as unity of friends—as a friendship-inspired, for not only has she over its evolution and nation in the twenty-five her reign, but she has made the greatest contribution to the nurturing of that. The process of nation can never be easy, and it is in a large part of the Queen's influence invisible, as the Commonwealth in its constructive as, she said, partly—that the genuine good done in an imperial nation, and was not with the bones of the

Majesty attempted no new of what by common is indefinable and yet big enough in the guest. Guildhall yesterday, at 10 per cent, as the put it, that is visible, and functional in the wealth arrangement gets to work. Out of the of the membership, and icularity of many of the that worry the Heads rument, certain general always emerge at these, and are discussed from valled range of experied subsequently carried into the machinery of lection-making in ways accelerate results. At meeting an effort was

IOCRATIC PROSPECTS IN SPAIN

neral election in Spain 15, being the first free and the first with al suffrage in that country ty-one years, can hardly seen as an historic event, ny people in this country member the tragedy of anish Civil War and its dous impact on British opinion this will be an emotional importance as the Spanish people are being given the chance to their own rulers, for the me since February 1936. f those who voted then Frente Popular, or for onents, are now dead, st of those voting then ll be voting in a free for the first time.

one must hope that the ey elect will have er history than that of id that the new expert constitutional monarchy more successful than the Republic of 1931. There 3 reasons on which hope based. Spain today is a prosperous, better aduore civilised country was in the 1930s. There r Spaniards with nothing Among survivors of the ar, anxiety to avoid its on is more common than vengeance. In the new loea, there may be less and more impatience, but as not it is impatience d quarrels that are no relevant, accompanied by to make the future more iving in than the past.

all, there is a much willingness among politi-ers of both left and right pt that parliamentary cy is something both de-its itself and capable of ig solutions to the coun-blems. In 1936 not only munists and anarchists the socialists were hos- "bourgeois" democracy, used to join the govern-ven, after the Popular ad won the elections, he outbreak of civil war a revolutionary situation.

form colleges

R. H. Thomas pointing forward his case for colleges rather than colleges I do not believe Hampton (May 27) has nough consideration to the reason of size. Sixth form are large enough to provide selection of viable but most of them are nain small enough to retain imate atmosphere which is ve to good personal rela-s—not only between the and his class, but between apical and the whole college-ger the institution the more it is to put names to faces vial educational impediment ng from and guiding young from adolescence to the old is missing. Dr Hampson's for widening a student of courses, but often this ed to outweigh the point I ade above.

THOMAS, Principal, ell Sixth Form College, ill.

belts

Raphael Tuck, MP for Wat-

made to put more urgency into reducing the disparities between richer and poorer countries and regions, and now as we see every major international body must take account of it in its work. It will form the major preoccupation of this Jubilee meeting.

There is also the unfinished business of Rhodesia, and the associated problems of South Africa which affect the Commonwealth. Since the last meeting in Kingston, much has happened to change the situation, from the Kissinger intervention onwards. Britain has to report on what is now being done to get a settlement—a transition from white to black power in Rhodesia—by peace before that settlement is exclusively of a long, uncertain and disastrous war, affecting and inflaming the whole area, possibly the world. No Commonwealth state wants the Rhodesian outcome, inevitable anyway, to be shaped finally by war alone.

The Commonwealth meets after two years of spreading Russian and Cuban influence throughout Africa, which has given rise to anxieties all the African leaders share, and to which no single state, however far from the conflict on the map, can be indifferent. The unresolved problem of Rhodesia is a danger to a degree that it was not even in 1975, after a succession of Commonwealth conclaves on the subject.

No association, however voluntary or unstructured, can exist devoid of some set of guiding principles. It was out of the bitter struggles over Rhodesia and the issue of arms for South

Today, by contrast, both socialists and communists regard their acceptance of the rules of the democratic game, as do many of the former dignitaries of the Franco regime, and none more persuasively than, on the one side, the secretary-general of the Communist Party, Sr. Santiago Carrillo, or, on the other, the Prime Minister and former head of the "National Movement", Sr. Adolfo Suarez. Sr. Carrillo, who is the name of "Euro-communist". He says that a Leninist seizure of power is neither possible nor desirable in post-industrial western Europe, and that communists and socialists of the different West European countries can achieve their shared aim of a classless society, free from exploitation, only by a long and careful process of democratically winning over the majority of their fellow-countrymen to their views.

Sr. Suarez has similarly adapted his views, though rather more suddenly, and for similar reasons. He professes to be no less anxious than before to preserve Spain "united, great and free". A monarchy in which traditional Spanish Christian values would continue to be respected, but he argues that this can only be done if the political system is adapted to the norms prevailing in western Europe, of which Spain whether she likes it or not is, economically and socially a part, in other words if it is adapted so as to reflect accurately the reality of Spanish society itself. If Sr. Carrillo is a "Eurocommunist", then Sr. Suarez can be called, with neither more nor less pejorative overtones, a "Eurofascist", or perhaps "Eurofascist". In both cases those for whom democracy is an end as well as a means will welcome the apparent evolution, but will inevitably be uncertain how they should react to it.

Personally, I always use a seat belt, and ask my passenger to do the same, though I do not insist on it. My advice to the Government is, therefore—exhort people continuously to wear seat belts, and advise them extensively and persistently, but do not compel.

Yours faithfully, RAPHAEL TUCK, House of Commons, June 2.

Preconditions for fascism

From Professor Stephen Cotgrove

Africa that the declaration of Commonwealth principles emerged in 1971. Broadly, those principles guide the determination to work for racial and social justice in southern Africa. But it is now impossible to think that, against that background of principle, the Commonwealth can ignore what has, and almost since 1971, been perpetrated in Uganda. More than one African leader clearly does want some explicit repudiation of the Amin regime. The Commonwealth Heads of Government in conclave cannot, however, be a tribunal, and British clearly must prevent the man responsible for Uganda's misery and degradation from blustering his way into the country, with the help of backers whose influence on Uganda's independence is a matter, especially among Africans, for contributory concern. But the Commonwealth governments cannot leave London silent about the reasons why the Ugandan chair is empty.

Commonwealth aid and co-operation does much good, moral as well as material, within regimes that are now widely different, and for governments that have come into power in varied ways. No one form of government prevails. The opposition leaders from some of them were welcome guests at Guildhall yesterday. The possibilities of change, of response to the people's will and mandate, are personified in this conference in the person of Mr. Moraji Desai, the Prime Minister of India. Once again, at this conference, there is a moral issue, for friends to face among themselves.

Should one place the convert on indefinite probation, or should one seek to involve him in alliances and responsibilities which make his new commitment irreversible?

The signs are that many Spanish democrats are now prepared to adopt the second line towards Sr. Suarez. Prominent liberal-conservatives and even social democrats have agreed to run for office in an alliance headed by him. They are influenced by the gratitude and admiration which he has aroused in a courageous pushing of a genuine democratic reform (though admittedly not yet a perfect one: it will be for the new Cortes to draw up a permanent constitution) through the recalcitrant apparatus of the old regime; and also by the fear that, if Sr. Suarez is allowed to fall, the conservative forces in the new parliament would be led by other former Franco supporters, whose conversion to democracy is much less convincing: those grouped in the Alianza Popular.

European opinion outside Spain should look favourably on these new allies of Sr. Suarez's and wish them success. But it should also listen with respect to those unimpeachable democrats who remain in opposition: the Christian Democrats led by Professor Ruiz Gimenez and the Gil Robles family, the socialists regrettably divided between Sr. Gonzalez and Professor Tierno Galvan, and also the moderate nationalist leaders of Catalonia and the Basque country—nations which are certainly entitled to expect a new deal in the new Spain. Spain as a whole is still threatened by her old demons—as more than sixty violent deaths since Franco died have regrettably shown. To escape them, and to find the way out of her acute economic difficulties, she will need intelligent, democratic opposition leaders as well as an intelligent, democratic government.

occult and an apathy towards politics and political action. There are similar striking parallels in academic, artistic and intellectual circles. The Western Republic saw a growing critique of what was seen as a narrow positivism and the emergence of an explicitly anti-rational and romantic style of thought. This has been closely paralleled by the growth of scientific seminars in Western industrial societies in the last decade, an emphasis on subjective experience, relativism and a rejection of objective knowledge as absolutist and repressive. This has had a particular impact on younger generations in the social sciences, and on related professional practices, notably teaching. The new ideas in education reflect the influence of the "new romantics" in their challenge to the idea of authoritative discipline based studies and objective knowledge, and in their celebration of relativism.

It would be simplistic to suggest that the romantic reaction against positivism in the Weimar Republic was anything more than a contributory factor in the rise of fascism. But in so far as it undermined belief in reason, it weakened the basis for a rational critique of National Socialism with its exploitation of powerful mass sentiments such as patriotism. (It would also be misleading to end without saying quite explicitly that reason and rationality can also be harnessed to the service of repressive regimes.) Yours sincerely, STEPHEN COTGROVE, Professor of Sociology, University of Bath, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Claverton Down, Bath BA2 7AY, June 2.

Coups in the Seychelles

From the High Commissioner for the Seychelles: Sir, Yesterday Mr. F. A. Rene, who has declared himself the new President of the Republic of Seychelles, telephoned the High Commissioner Office in London asking me to be the representative of his regime at the Court of St. James. I want to make it clear through the medium of your columns as to why I will not associate my name, honour and integrity with Mr. Rene and those who surround him.

(1) The justification for the coup d'état given by these today controlling the island of Mahe is that Mr. Mancham wanted to become a "hit man" dictator. Yet as soon as Mr. Rene declared himself President he suspended the Constitution, dissolved Parliament and started ruling by Presidential decree. He imposed a curfew and said that anyone who breaks it would be shot on sight.

(2) It has been suggested in the press that President Mancham's downfall is due to his life-style and "play-boy" characteristics. I know Mr. Mancham and I know the Seychellois people: Mr. Mancham is the most popular leader among his people. His life-style gave hope and international awareness to a people who had been for long neglected and forgotten.

(3) Mr. Mancham has been the father of the Seychellois nation and his leadership qualities greatly contributed to bring about the highest level of national unity on a multi-racial level in the Seychelles. He is the man who brought Seychelles from economic stagnation and poverty to a flourishing economy and a rise in living standards.

(4) It has further been suggested that President Mancham has been responsible for the disappearance of land which has taken place in Seychelles over recent months. There is not the slightest truth in this statement. Ever since the formation of a Coalition Government, Mr. Rene, first as Minister for Works and Land Development, and later as Prime Minister, has been ministerially responsible for sanction given to foreigners to purchase land. These sanctions would not have been forthcoming had they not been stamped with his ministerial recommendation.

In conclusion, I wish to state that I am firmly convinced that the majority of the people of Seychelles support President James R. Mancham, his political policies, if not his personal philosophy, and that on the information obtained from British employed officials, who arrived in London yesterday after being deported by Mr. Rene, that the coup d'état was carried out with the help of a Marxist foreign power which explains the sudden presence in Seychelles today of a huge supply of Eastern block manufactured automatic weapons. Yours sincerely, J. RASSOOL, High Commissioner, Seychelles High Commission, 2 Mill Street, W1, June 7.

Leaving aside—as Mr. Benn left aside—the question of direct elections to the European Parliament, four of the points made by Mr. Benn or in the Labour Party's pamphlet on the Community require comment.

Our £8,000m deficit in the first four years of EC membership. A deficit is a deficit, it is a deficit, it can be reduced by selling more, by buying less, it can hardly be denied that we should have sold more, in Europe or elsewhere, by not being in the Community. To have bought less from Europe would have meant in some cases that more would have been bought elsewhere—this merely shifting the location of the deficit, but could have been achieved anyway only by import restrictions. It is really imaginable that the world would then have got through the worst economic crisis since the war with so little beggar-my-neighbour policies? It should be remembered that Britain's unemployment of the '30s would have seemed trivial by comparison.

Five times as much British capital invested in the EC as the EC invested in the UK. Why? Capital goes where it is profitable to go. It can be prevented from going to the UK by the implications of that for democracy, it is to be supposed that in those circumstances international monetary support for the pound would have been forthcoming? We have been respected so often for the results of our inefficiency only because we are so mixed up in the world economy. Reduce that involvement and the need for others to hold us up is correspondingly reduced. You attract investment by being economically efficient.

We must carry on our industrial and regional policies regardless of EC interference. Implying that if we were not in the EC these policies could be carried out without any interference. What rubbish. Ask Peter Shore who in 1968 found us "blown off course". The only question is whether our ability to exert influence in the world economy is greater from within the Community than alone outside it. To ask the question is to answer it.

Genuine and free negotiations between independent states. In terms of science, technology, communications, pollution, resource depletion, population migration, North-South, riches-poor, gap, quite apart from the international political economy, to use the word "independence" is ludicrously anachronistic. Has the Labour Party not heard that fission and fusion bombs have been exploded? Of course there are difficulties to be overcome, costs to be incurred, sacrifices to be made, in trying to harness resources with those of like-minded and like-situated peoples, but our lack of success so far is our lack of success.

To suppose we can live in glorious isolation is to dwell in a land of cloud-cuckoo even when that unfortunate phrase was first articulated. Yours faithfully, P. A. REYNOLDS, 8 Castle Park, Lancaster, June 3.

Whatever the legalities, the escalation of the violence in this troubled area may be a reminder that good law and good politics often have little to do with each other. Yours sincerely, ROBERT MCGEEHAN, St Antony's College, Oxford, June 3.

From Mr. D. G. Galvin: Sir, Dr. Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations—that impeccably impartial body which has deemed South African "aggression" in Angola while totally ignoring the brazen Russian-Cuban intervention—was quick to censure Rhodesia for its "provocative" raid into Mozambique. He said it was a blatant disregard for the principles of the United Nations Charter.

If Rhodesia is not a member of the UN—indeed as a government or state she does not legally exist in the eyes of Dr. Waldheim and the UN member nations—how can she be accused of violating that organization's Charter?

Food companies and price freeze

From the Chairman of the Food and Drink Industries Council: Sir, Almost every day, someone suggests that a price freeze would be an answer to our problems, and now the Welsh Labour Party and the Acting President of the TUC have joined the chorus.

This superficially easy solution should be more critically examined by those propounding it. In 1976 the profit margins of 31 leading food companies averaged less than 1 per cent on sales on an inflation-accounting basis. The principal categories of expenditure were wages, raw materials and funds allocated to reinvestment. There is no suggestion that wages should be frozen, and no possibility that the cost of raw materials—which approximately half are imported—could be.

For food companies, the effect of a price freeze would inevitably be to turn inadequate profits into losses and, therefore, drastically reduce investment programmes, the majority of which are geared to improving efficiency to give the consumer better values. Without these better values, our products would be supplanted by imports from countries where profits adequate to maintain investment are still regarded as essential. Not

only would this have an adverse effect on the balance of payments, but farmers would lose markets for their products and suppliers of machinery their customers. Such a policy means that we would be directly importing unemployment.

Those engaged in industry are wage-earners before they are consumers and, although the prospect of static food prices may be popular with the consumer, the effect on the three-quarters of a million people who work in the food and drink processing industries would be crippling.

We would all like to see higher wages and lower prices, but the only way to ensure a higher standard of living for all the people is by allowing efficient businesses to make and keep sufficient funds to invest at a level comparable with that of our foreign competitors, and to operate such investment to maximum efficiency.

To suggest freezing prices is totally unrealistic, but even if it were possible, it would not be in the best interests of the members of the Welsh Labour Party or of yours faithfully, HECTOR LAING, Chairman, Food and Drink Industries Council, 1-2 Castle Lane, SW1.

Faulds, MP, to whom I am indebted for sending me a transcript of the debate, pending delays in printing) drew the obvious conclusion from the fact that the actual acceptance of works of art in lieu of tax does not require such payments to be made, observing "since these payments are merely optional, and if they are deemed in some mysterious way, and however implausibly, to involve public expenditure, why not dispense with this nonsensical ritual altogether?"

The contention that unacceptable public expenditure has been incurred seems to originate from the fact that the term "acquisition" is made use of in a sloppy manner. Nobody would deny that ownership of property acquired in lieu of tax is thereby transferred to the Government and so "acquired". But "acquisition" does not necessarily imply that this can only take place by purchase, which—on any commonsense grounds—does not occur in the particular circumstances. Nor is there any cash consideration, merely a cancellation pro rata of tax due.

To sum up, statutory provisions are available for citizens to discharge capital taxes in kind, provided naturally that in each particular case the qualifications of the items are acceptable and their valuations mutually agreed. However, the novel attempt in now being made, by means of the gratuitous involvement of the Land Fund, to introduce into the equation further, much less rational, imponderables of a general character; it is being claimed that the financial situation of the country as a whole can at any time inhibit or impede the implementation of the provisions in question. But if this claim is seriously persisted in, resort to those provisions, the basic principle of which is thus called in question, becomes far less attractive to taxpayers.

Accordingly I would hope that the Trustees proposed by Lord Reigate would act not as an acquiring body but in a monitoring capacity to supervise the proper financial application of the resources of the Land Fund; and such application would not in future be in a illogical connection with tax obligations discharged in kind, but for the various other unexplicable purposes which are at present permissible. And this would leave the existing enactments for acceptance in satisfaction of tax as really meaning just that they say. Yours faithfully, DENIS MAHON, 33 Cadogan Square, SW1.

local education authority shall, in particular, have regard to the need for securing that provision is made for pupils between the ages of five years by the provision of nursery schools or, where the authority consider the provision of such schools to be inexpedient, by the provision of nursery classes in other schools.

Local authorities have never, as far as I know, interpreted this as a mandatory duty, though both the Conservatives and the Labour Party have accepted that it is a desirable aim.

With regard to the position in Oxfordshire, cited by the National Campaign for Nursery Education in your report, no changes have yet been made in nursery provision apart from the transfer of two nursery classes from wartime premises to the nearest First School, which was recommended by the Schools Sub-Committee on May 27.

Further economies will be reviewed by working party in the coming months. Though I personally deplore cuts in numbers of pupils, the position in Oxford must be seen in the light of the generous level of nursery school provision made by the former City of Oxford Education Committee.

Yours, etc. JANET TODD, Member, Oxfordshire County Council Education Committee, The White House, Headington Quarry, Oxford.

St Alban and St George

From the Reverend Graham Dowell: Sir, St George may be more mythical than historical. So, probably, were King Arthur and King Alfred, but that doesn't diminish our affection for them. St George, moreover, we share with Greece and Ethiopia, whose people have close traditional ties with ours; surely today have strong need of the prayers of their national Saint.

If we wish our national Saint to be rather less military than either Alban or George, could not St Cuthbert (the nearest we English ever got to Francis of Assisi) be considered? We may daily expect the might and incomparable Durham to make his claim! Yours sincerely, GRAHAM DOWELL, Hampstead Parish Church, Church Row, NW3.

Nursery education

From Mrs Janet Todd: Sir, I was very much surprised to read Miss Joan Lester's remark (May 30) that the Government has a mandatory duty to make nursery education available for all who want it.

The relevant paragraph in the 1944 Education Act is § (2) (b) "a

The Land Fund

From Mr Denis Mahon: Sir, Lord Reigate's hope (May 31) that the workings of the National Land Fund might be brought to full public attention by means of a Select Committee is, I think, and deserving of the widest support.

One of the extraordinary anomalies which urgently requires examination at this level is the way in which the Land Fund has become unjustifiably involved with the acceptance of works of art and real property as a discharge for capital tax obligations in kind rather than cash.

This principle, in which there is a transfer of ownership from the tax debtor to the Board of Inland Revenue, first made its appearance in the Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910. Thus, contrary to what is sometimes supposed, the National Land Fund (not established until the Finance Act, 1946) never was, and is not now, integrally involved in the statutory functioning of this principle, the application of which (as variously extended by subsequent acts) was reproduced in toto in connection with enactment—present in force—of capital transfer tax.

Nevertheless, compensatory payments within the Treasury from the National Land Fund to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, if and when they take place in connection with property accepted "in satisfaction of tax" have recently been cited in support of the contention that public expenditure is being incurred—no mean body, if true. On April 28 the Chief Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Joel Barnett) replied to Mr. Patrick Cormack, MP, on this point: "Transactions internal to Government are not by themselves public expenditure, but payments from the National Land Fund to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue in respect of property accepted in lieu of tax by the latter represent the acquisition of property by the Government for a consideration."

But Mr. Barnett also stated at the same time, in answer to a question whether such payments were mandatory rather than optional, that the 1946 Act establishing the Land Fund, as amended, "provides that the Treasury may pay to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, if they think fit, the amount of estate duty or capital transfer tax satisfied by the acceptance of the property; there is no mandatory requirement".

In an adjournment debate during the night of May 17-18, Mr. Andrew

"Buyer's premium" From Mr A. Kenneth Snowman: Sir, On your front page of May 28 you give the total bought at the sale at Mentmore as £5,389,933 (exclusive of buyer's premium).

I wonder why the total price which has to be found by all the individual buyers, has to be expressed in this bizarre and cumbersome way.

Under normal circumstances no lot may be removed from the auction room (or even marquee) without payment to the auctioneers of both the "hammer" price and the extra 10 per cent now imposed by them. The public may not be aware that this even applies to items bought for the nation by our museums and galleries.

To put it plainly, this additional "buyer's premium" is merely an ingenious way of putting the price up which the firms who introduced the scheme have claimed was necessary for their continued commercial survival.

All this really seems to provide no justification for dignifying such a stratagem by isolating it, a separate entity, when after all, it is in reality a second commission taken this time from the buyer (and one which has to be allowed for in his valuation) and which is, therefore, an integral part of the cost price of the article purchased.

I should like to see that we face the reality of the situation and, in future, simply report that lot so-and-so brought so many pounds (including the "buyer's premium") since the "hammer" figure has become a misleading one now that it only represents a major percentage of the actual cost price which has to be paid.

Yours faithfully, A. KENNETH SNOWMAN, President, The British Antique Dealers' Association, 20 Rutland Gate, SW7.

Nursery education

From Mrs Janet Todd: Sir, I was very much surprised to read Miss Joan Lester's remark (May 30) that the Government has a mandatory duty to make nursery education available for all who want it.

The relevant paragraph in the 1944 Education Act is § (2) (b) "a

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THE TIMES

BUSINESS NEWS

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Governments are aimed by EEF r failure to aid K exporters

Mr Thomas, of Britain's engineering industry, has a bitter attack on governments for their failure to aid exporters. He says that the EEF, the Federation of Exporters, is not doing enough to help exporters, particularly in the area of financial assistance. He points out that the EEF is not providing enough information to exporters about the various government schemes available to them. He also criticizes the EEF for not doing enough to help exporters in the area of marketing and sales promotion. He says that the EEF is not doing enough to help exporters in the area of research and development. He concludes by saying that the EEF is not doing enough to help exporters in the area of general business assistance.

The EEF is a non-profit organization which represents the interests of exporters in the United Kingdom. It was founded in 1945 and has since then been working to help exporters in a variety of ways. It provides a range of services to its members, including information, advice, and assistance. It also represents its members at various government departments and international organizations. The EEF is currently facing a number of challenges, including a decline in membership and a need to raise more funds. Mr Thomas's attack on the EEF is part of a wider campaign to reform the organization and make it more effective in helping exporters.

Protest over imports of cheap doors

The British Woodworking Federation is asking the Government to act against a growing threat of cheap door imports. The Federation says that the import of cheap doors is causing significant damage to the domestic door industry. It claims that the import of cheap doors is leading to a loss of jobs and a decline in the quality of the domestic door industry. The Federation is asking the Government to take action to protect the domestic door industry from cheap imports. It is calling for the Government to impose stricter controls on the import of cheap doors. It is also calling for the Government to provide financial assistance to the domestic door industry to help it compete with cheap imports.

lian bourses stay shut

Paris market halted: A strike by employees of stockbroking houses in Paris yesterday paralysed quotations on the stock market, as well as on the gold market. The strike was called by the CGT union, which represents the employees of stockbroking houses. The CGT union says that the strike is a protest against the government's economic policies. It says that the government's policies are leading to a decline in the value of the French franc and a loss of jobs. The CGT union is calling for the government to take action to protect the value of the French franc and to create more jobs.

pc rise in beer sales forecast by 1985

There should be growth of about 15 million bottles per year in the beer market by 1985, according to a forecast by the Brewers' Society. The forecast is based on a number of factors, including a projected increase in the number of people drinking beer and a projected increase in the average volume of beer consumed per person. The forecast also takes into account a projected increase in the number of pubs and a projected increase in the number of people visiting pubs. The forecast is a positive one for the beer industry, which is currently facing a number of challenges, including a decline in the number of pubs and a decline in the number of people drinking beer.

kby sit-in disputes hit sey plants

Plessey telecommunication management on Mersey turn today after the tenning and jubilee holiday strikes. Layoffs, and a at the Kirby plant by employees—mainly women all members of the electrical union. The holiday Plessey d out a big rationalization (me after the statutory notices had expired. 1,400 workers were made and the plants at y and Speke shut down. Inwhile, the 2,000 elec workers at the head's plant in Liverpool d a protest strike led a holiday which led to hourly paid workers being hit, halting production at ant and at Hutton, which is yet been resolved.

Double Green Shield stamps and deep-cut discounts could save shoppers £10m in a month Grocery chains set for High St price war

By Derek Harris
The biggest grocery retail sales battle since the trading stamps war of the early 1970s opened last night with the issue of a flood of television and press advertising boosting on the one hand keener pricing and on the other extra stamp offers.

If the battle, set off by the Tesco chain's decision to drop Green Shield trading stamps, lasts intensively for a month—the most popular estimate in the trade—it could mean some £10m being offered to grocery shoppers in additional price cuts or via double stamp offers.

All Green Shield stamp outlets are giving double stamps on all purchases for at least 10 days. A number of Co-operative retail outlets are also expected to offer for a short period double issues of the Co-op's blue stamp offers.

But the anti-stamp retailers are countering with claims of deep-cut discounts. Although the trade is still waiting for the Tesco's unveiling of its new retailing strategy,

due today in time for start of trading tomorrow. All Tesco's main stores will be closed today to allow time for staff to change prices and set up new promotional material.

Tesco faces a big image-changing exercise because of its close association with Green Shield stamps over the past 14 years. It has the time of its campaign in its "warm-up" advertising—the theme of which is that from tomorrow "Tesco gives you something you want more than stamps—price cuts that help keep the cost of living in check."

Tesco estimates it has £20m from the savings on Green Shield stamps this year, plus "a little bit more" to distribute in price cuts. Initially it is expected to make cuts of 5 per cent on around 200 lines, with a further "wide-range of other goods, plus a number of special promotional discounts."

Tesco is spending £1.5m on television and other media advertising between now and the end of this month. This is a significant increase on the £0.5m it spent on the High Street battle, but some of the

competitive campaigns are also expected to continue as their programmes for more new and bigger stores matured.

What Green Shield really needs is for a major group at present not giving stamps to switch policies, and there has been increasing speculation this could happen with Fine Fare, the supermarket chain subsidiary of Associated British Foods.

Green Shield has had "purely exploratory" talks with Fine Fare as with a number of other chains. But Mr Keith Padden, marketing director of Fine Fare, sees no reason for his company to go back on its decision of 10 years ago to pull out of the then Sperry and Hinchinson pink stamps. He said: "Why should we switch? Only 20 per cent of our customers are in cash, most are committed to ourselves and Tesco and it is the Tesco trade that one would be talking about."

In the High Street scrum of the next few days Fine Fare is planning nothing spectacular. Only if one of its big stores is closed to a week will Fine Fare take "violent evasive action" locally.

Provisional March figures have been revised sharply upwards so that production in the month is now supposed to have increased by 2 per cent compared with February against original reports of a 1 per cent decline. According to the latest statistics new orders in March rose 3.5 per cent, whereas a month ago the increase was put at only 1.5 per cent.

However, the provisional figures for April, which were also released today, show a 1 per cent fall in production compared with March and a 1.5 per cent decline in new orders over the month.

Payments deficit: For the first four months of 1977 West Germany had an overall payments deficit of DM3,000m (about £74m), a sharp swing from the DM8,500m surplus in the same period last year.

The current account surplus narrowed to DM2,273m in the first four months of 1976.

Bonn report says jobless problem will persist well into the 1980s

From Peter Norman, Bonn, June 7

Even if the West German economy expanded in the coming years at a rate equivalent to that expected in the boom years of 1963-72, unemployment will remain a problem into the next decade.

This is the major conclusion reached by the Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft, from a series of econometric models devised to determine employment trends in the coming years.

The institute, which is linked closely with the German Employers' Federation, forecast that even with such economic growth as was achieved in 1976 and 1977, unemployment in 1985 will average 970,000, or roughly the level that obtained at the end of May this year.

If on the other hand the economy develops in line with the slower growth pattern established between 1971 and 1974, the unemployment prob-

lem in the coming decade will be much greater. Annual growth of 3 per cent to 1980 and 2 per cent thereafter would bring the number out of work up to 1.2 million by the end of the decade and 2.9 million by 1985.

The institute's forecasts are admittedly based on models, and for this reason should be treated with caution. But they do give an indication of the effect that demographic changes in West Germany could have on the labour market.

It is claimed that there is a deficit of around one million jobs in Germany at present as a result of low investment in recent years and that a further 1.1 million jobs will be needed up to 1987 to absorb the young people coming on to the labour market.

Meanwhile, the latest official statistics on industrial orders for the first four months of 1977, published by the Economics Ministry in Bonn today, do little to lift the confusion and uncertainty that surrounds economic

Austria acts to protect the schilling

By Our European Business Correspondent

Austria's cabinet and National Bank have agreed on a limited stabilization policy designed to curb inflation, cut the current account balance of payments deficit and so shield the schilling from devaluation pressures.

Dr Hannes Androsch, Finance Minister, announced in Vienna yesterday that the Government planned to clip 3,000m (about £103m) from public spending next year.

Government investment will be cut by about 10 per cent from this year's levels. Special 5 per cent depreciation allowances for purchasers of cars and private cars will be scrapped.

It is hoped that these measures will reduce Austria's vehicle imports, which are held to be partly responsible for a marked deterioration in the visible trade balance so far this year.

In addition, the Austrian Government intends to open negotiations with representatives of public sector employees to raise the share they pay towards pension costs.

Dr Androsch also disclosed that the Austrian National Bank would announce a series of credit restrictions today. Although he refused to give details, it is generally expected the bank rate will be increased by 1 percentage point from the current 4 per cent.

He firmly denied that the Government plans to devalue the schilling, which is pegged to the Deutsche mark and the Swiss franc.

Austria's employment figures show only 1.7 per cent of the working population out of job, with unemployment rising. On the other hand, inflation, which is running at 5.2 per cent, is rather higher than in Switzerland and Germany.

But it is the deterioration in the current account balance which has been causing the most concern in Vienna. In the first three months of this year Austria's visible trade deficit amounted to 16,000m schillings—about 25 per cent higher than in the 1976 period.

Economist sees hope for poorer nations

Middle income and non-oil producing developing countries should be able to achieve average annual real gross domestic product growth rates of around 6.5 per cent in the 1979 to 1985 period, according to Mr. John Holsen, one of the World Bank's top economists.

This economist asserts that if these countries achieve such growth rates, then they will not only be able smoothly to finance their heavy foreign debts, but also enjoy a higher credit standing in international capital markets.

Mr Holsen makes no secret of the fact that his growth predictions depend on some highly questionable assumptions. However, should his predictions prove to be roughly accurate, there is no doubt that most of the grave concern now being expressed by bankers about international lending will be seen to have been unjustified.

Bankers and government officials in industrial countries are becoming more and more worried about the huge debts being accumulated by those non-oil producing developing countries where per capita annual income is about \$200 to \$1,000 (about £118 to £1,180), such as Zambia and Brazil and Honduras and Syria.

This is a large and diverse group of countries, but, as Mr Holsen points out, they all depend on heavy borrowing from abroad and all have considerable potential for substantial economic growth.

These countries achieved real annual gdp growth rates of 7.4 per cent from 1969 to 1973 and despite the world economy's problems since then they are estimated to have maintained a growth rate of about 5.4 per cent from 1974 to 1976.

The net inflow of medium and long-term capital to these countries rose from an annual average of about \$7,000m in 1969 to 1973 to an estimated \$25,000m in 1975 and it is likely to continue at about \$20,000m to \$25,000m for several years.

In achieving the predicted 6.5 per cent growth rate these countries are seen as reducing their dependence on foreign savings from about 4.5 per cent of gdp in 1975 to 1.5 per cent by 1985.

However, they will only succeed if they manage to increase their exports and carefully manage their finances to ensure continued access to international capital markets.

They can only do this if industrial countries are willing to take a larger volume of manufactured goods and make substantial funds available for international borrowing, as well as to continue carrying significant trade deficits for some years and making efforts to encourage industrialization in developing countries.

Mr Holsen seems optimistic, but underlines the importance of negotiations in recent weeks at the TINF ministerial meeting and at the North-South conference do not suggest that the industrial countries are yet ready to take the stern efforts required to ensure that developing countries attain high real gdp rates.

Among other things it is vital that the multilateral trade liberalization negotiations in Geneva start making real progress.

Frank Vogl

Scrap industry underlines plight of companies

By Peter Hill, Industrial Correspondent

Britain's scrap industry is faced with a desperate situation as a result of opposition by the British Steel Corporation and private sector steelmakers to pleas to be allowed to sell more scrap to the BSC. The Community is sympathetic.

Mr Roy Boast, executive vice-president of the British Scrap Federation, said yesterday: "Steelmakers last week reduced their scrap buying prices by between £1 and £2 a tonne. The situation is becoming very serious indeed for many of our members."

Because of the steel industry recession, demand for scrap from the BSC, the private sector and the iron foundries has been reduced to a minimal level and the position is expected to deteriorate still further over the next three months because of the holidays.

Stocks held by steelworks and the merchants themselves have reached record levels and because of low prices many scrap processors are moving to Greece, Spain, Portugal, workers on short time, and mothballing processing machinery.

Insulation drive by Whitehall

By Roger Vidyvsky, Energy Correspondent

A nationwide campaign to persuade householders to insulate or improve existing insulation on their homes will be launched in the autumn by the Department of Energy.

Talks between the Department and other ministries interested in housing and energy saving have begun from which a national house insulation programme is likely to emerge. Details of the programme have not yet been settled but it could include financial incentives to improve insulation standards.

The Department of Energy, which has just received Treasury approval to spend £2m a year over the next three years on a further "Save-it" campaign, has also opened informal discussions with industry on stepping up the conservation effort.

These new conservation drives come in the wake of last month's Downing Street summit communiqué which emphasized the importance of reducing the rate of growth of world energy demand.

A similar message has come from a number of influential reports over the past few months which stressed the part energy conservation could play in postponing the day when demand for oil will exceed the available supply.

Mr John Cunningham, the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Energy, is leaving for France tomorrow to study French conservation efforts, particularly in the industrial field.

He will be visiting three industrial energy-saving projects installed under government finance to demonstrate to other industrial companies the savings that can be achieved by new investments.

These will include a district heating scheme in Paris that uses refuse to fuel its boilers; the use of waste heat at the Elf oil refinery at Porsville; energy-saving developments in the glass industry and also a tour of the Renault factory at Flins.

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French buy airbuses
Air liner, France's domestic airline, yesterday announced it has bought two additional European A300 airbuses, increasing its Airbus fleet to five. This brings to 40 the number of the 280-seat airliners operated by 10 international airlines. Built by France, West Germany, Spain and Britain, the Airbus is due to make its debut in the United States this autumn when Eastern Airlines will operate four of them on its New York-Florida route for a six-month trial—Reuters.

Foreign loans outstanding with United States banks total \$77,000m

From Our US Economics Correspondent

America's 80 largest banks currently have outstanding loans to foreign countries (other than the Group of Ten) of \$77,000m (about £45,300m). Some \$42,000m of this represents loans to non-oil exporting developing countries, the Federal Reserve Board stated.

The Fed has just completed a survey of the foreign lending activities of more than 80 United States banks with total assets of \$1,000m or more and \$50m or more in claims on foreign countries. The results of this survey will form an important part of a global international bank lending report being compiled now by the Bank for International Settlements.

The Fed said that slightly more than half of the claims on

foreign countries had less than one year remaining to maturity. About 9 per cent of the claims were guaranteed abroad in some form with the percentage guaranteed for most countries ranging between 5 and 15 per cent.

By far the largest amounts outstanding abroad are to Brazil and Mexico. The total American bank claim on Brazil is \$10,437m, with 10.6 per cent of this guaranteed and roughly one third maturing in the year and about 45 per cent maturing in more than two years. The total to Mexico is \$10,746m, with only 5 per cent guaranteed and 46 per cent maturing in less than one year and about 39 per cent maturing in more than two years.

A total of \$14,333m of loans is outstanding to developed industrial countries outside the Group of Ten, with the largest

single amounts being \$3,137m to Spain, \$2,236m to South Africa, \$1,820m to Norway and \$1,353m to Greece. More than \$1,000m are outstanding to Australia, Austria, Finland and Turkey.

Loans outstanding to Central and South America (excluding Venezuela) total \$29,500m, with Asia being \$10,365m. Eastern Europe's total is \$6,026m, with the largest amounts being \$1,553m to the Soviet Union, \$1,261m to Poland, \$937m to Yugoslavia and \$740m to East Germany.

Details are also provided by the Fed on claims on oil-exporting countries. These show loans to Venezuela totalling \$5,055m, to Indonesia \$2,067m and to Iran \$1,306m.

In contrast, loans outstanding to Nigeria total \$70m, \$73m to Iraq, \$600m to Saudi Arabia and \$371m to Kuwait.

Rhine chemical workers to vote on 7pc pay rise

Chemical industry workers in the West German state of Rhineland Palatinate yesterday began voting on whether to accept a 7 per cent pay rise.

The 30,000 blue and white collar workers in the state a 7 per cent increase from the beginning of May.

The settlement was worked out by employers and union representatives at the weekend in 14 hours of tough negotiations just in time to avert strike action.

The 52,000-strong workforce at the BASF plant at Ludwigshafen will also receive an additional lump sum payment of DM175 (about £43) for April, while other chemical workers will receive an extra DM165 for the month.

Chemical union leaders have claimed that the deal means average increases of 7.25 per cent for white collar staff and 7 per cent for manual labour, and so represents an improvement on the employers' original offer of 7 per cent.

French buy airbuses
Air liner, France's domestic airline, yesterday announced it has bought two additional European A300 airbuses, increasing its Airbus fleet to five. This brings to 40 the number of the 280-seat airliners operated by 10 international airlines. Built by France, West Germany, Spain and Britain, the Airbus is due to make its debut in the United States this autumn when Eastern Airlines will operate four of them on its New York-Florida route for a six-month trial—Reuters.

NOTICE OF REDEMPTION

To the Holders of

Honda Motor Co., Ltd.

7½% Guaranteed Sinking Fund Debentures Due 1981

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, that Three Hundred Fifty Seven Thousand Dollars (\$357,000) payable by Honda Motor Co., Ltd. 1981 Guaranteed Sinking Fund Debentures Due 1981 and bearing the following serial numbers, have been drawn for redemption for account of the Sinking Fund on July 15, 1977 at the principal amount thereof and accrued interest to that date.

DEBENTURES IN DENOMINATION OF \$1,000. EACH

14	1422	2212	4288	5491	6581	8015	9919	11781	12516	14675	17851
40	1448	2845	4285	5507	6707	821	9356	11818	12533	14698	17829
59	1501	2877	4301	5529	6722	824	9391	11858	12567	14732	17891
78	1522	2883	4317	5539	6739	824	10071	11858	12567	14732	17891
98	1524	2888	4328	5546	6744	828	10019	11870	12567	14736	18021
116	1577	2926	4356	5572	6771	827	10081	11881	12568	14733	17892
135	1596	2945	4342	5584	6784	828	10088	11882	12568	14733	17892
154	1618	2958	4348	5585	6785	829	10089	11882	12568	14737	18007
173	1640	2971	4353	5591	6791	829	10090	11882	12568	14737	18007
192	1660	2991	4370	5591	6798	829	10090	11882	12568	14737	18007
211	1686	2945	4382	5598	6798	829	10090	11882	12568	14737	18007
230	1704	2973	4403	5627	6825	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
249	1720	2998	4428	5656	6854	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
268	1740	3024	4454	5684	6882	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
287	1760	3051	4481	5711	6910	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
306	1780	3077	4507	5737	6936	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
325	1800	3104	4534	5764	6963	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
344	1820	3131	4561	5791	6989	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
363	1840	3157	4587	5817	7015	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
382	1860	3184	4614	5844	7042	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
401	1880	3211	4641	5871	7068	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
420	1900	3237	4667	5897	7094	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
439	1920	3264	4694	5924	7121	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
458	1940	3291	4721	5951	7147	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
477	1960	3317	4747	5977	7173	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
496	1980	3344	4774	6004	7200	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
515	2000	3371	4801	6031	7226	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
534	2020	3397	4827	6057	7252	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
553	2040	3424	4854	6084	7279	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
572	2060	3450	4880	6110	7305	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
591	2080	3477	4907	6137	7332	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
610	2100	3503	4933	6163	7358	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
629	2120	3530	4960	6190	7385	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
648	2140	3557	4986	6216	7411	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
667	2160	3584	5013	6243	7438	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
686	2180	3611	5040	6269	7464	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
705	2200	3638	5067	6296	7491	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
724	2220	3665	5093	6322	7517	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
743	2240	3692	5120	6349	7544	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
762	2260	3719	5146	6375	7570	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
781	2280	3746	5173	6402	7596	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
800	2300	3773	5199	6428	7622	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
819	2320	3800	5226	6455	7649	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
838	2340	3827	5252	6481	7675	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
857	2360	3854	5279	6508	7702	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
876	2380	3881	5305	6534	7728	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
895	2400	3908	5332	6561	7755	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
914	2420	3935	5358	6587	7781	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
933	2440	3962	5385	6614	7808	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
952	2460	3989	5411	6640	7834	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
971	2480	4016	5438	6667	7861	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
990	2500	4043	5464	6693	7887	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1009	2520	4070	5491	6720	7914	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1028	2540	4097	5517	6746	7940	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1047	2560	4124	5544	6773	7967	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1066	2580	4151	5570	6800	7993	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1085	2600	4178	5597	6826	8019	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1104	2620	4205	5624	6853	8046	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1123	2640	4232	5650	6879	8072	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1142	2660	4259	5677	6906	8099	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1161	2680	4286	5703	6932	8125	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1180	2700	4313	5730	6959	8152	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1199	2720	4340	5756	6985	8178	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1218	2740	4367	5783	7012	8205	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1237	2760	4394	5809	7038	8231	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1256	2780	4421	5836	7065	8258	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1275	2800	4448	5862	7091	8284	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1294	2820	4475	5889	7118	8311	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1313	2840	4502	5915	7144	8337	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1332	2860	4529	5942	7171	8364	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1351	2880	4556	5968	7197	8390	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1370	2900	4583	5995	7224	8417	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1389	2920	4610	6021	7250	8443	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1408	2940	4637	6048	7277	8470	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1427	2960	4664	6074	7303	8496	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1446	2980	4691	6101	7330	8523	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1465	3000	4718	6127	7356	8549	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1484	3020	4745	6154	7383	8576	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1503	3040	4772	6180	7409	8602	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1522	3060	4799	6207	7436	8629	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1541	3080	4826	6233	7462	8655	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1560	3100	4853	6260	7489	8682	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1579	3120	4880	6286	7515	8708	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1598	3140	4907	6313	7542	8735	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1617	3160	4934	6339	7568	8761	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1636	3180	4961	6366	7595	8788	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1655	3200	4988	6392	7621	8814	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1674	3220	5015	6419	7648	8841	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1693	3240	5042	6445	7674	8867	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1712	3260	5069	6472	7701	8894	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1731	3280	5096	6498	7727	8920	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1750	3300	5123	6525	7754	8947	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1769	3320	5150	6551	7780	8973	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1788	3340	5177	6578	7807	9000	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1807	3360	5204	6604	7833	9026	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1826	3380	5231	6631	7860	9053	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1845	3400	5258	6657	7886	9079	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1864	3420	5285	6684	7913	9106	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1883	3440	5312	6710	7939	9132	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1902	3460	5339	6737	7966	9159	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1921	3480	5366	6763	7992	9185	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1940	3500	5393	6790	8018	9212	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1959	3520	5420	6816	8045	9238	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1978	3540	5447	6843	8071	9265	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
1997	3560	5474	6869	8098	9291	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
2016	3580	5501	6896	8124	9318	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
2035	3600	5528	6922	8151	9344	827	10100	11889	12567	14732	17891
2054	3620	5555									

BY THE FINANCIAL EDITOR

Testing the stock market's appetite

Yesterday's Jubilee party down friendly Throgmorton Street was, at a guess, the least well attended in the country. But, assuming Jubilee crowds are not aching too painfully, business should be back to something like normal this morning—and there is certainly plenty of crown scratching to be done as to where security prices go next.

Over the past few weeks there has been growing concern about the mounting supply of new paper to be absorbed by investors, especially in the gilt market. Here, there are nearly £800m of commitments to be met by early July, as well as an £800m "tap" overhanging the longer end of the market.

In the equity market, too, rights issues and placings have been coming in a steady stream. Next week, moreover, will see the start of the countdown to BP Day. That said, institutional investors, as last week's placing of the £16m English and Caledonian portfolio confirmed, still appear to have a keen appetite for reasonably large lines of shares that can be taken aboard at around current price levels.

Assuming BP does not prove too indigestible, then, the stage could well be set for equities to enjoy some kind of a run-up on hopes of a phase three settlement and a (modestly) reflationary package from the Chancellor.

Even with a reasonable phase three, however, it would be surprising if the upside potential was particularly dramatic, at least until the market has a rather clearer idea of the likely sequence of events through the late summer and early autumn. Failure to reach a satisfactory incomes policy agreement would, of course, shatter any enthusiasm at the outset.

Ideally, one would like to see consecutive months of rising balance of payments surpluses and sharply falling inflation preceding any signs of accelerating economic recovery. Any reversal of that order would leave the authorities facing a considerable dilemma, have every monetarist on the jump and leave capital markets on tenterhooks.

Eurobonds Dealers trim portfolios

The resilience of the Eurobond market during the past month, since short-term dollar interest rates have begun to trend upwards, has put paid to some of those more extreme fears about the possibilities of a massive sell-off once the turn was seen to have arrived.

Six-month Eurodollar rates have climbed by 3 per cent to 6 1/2 per cent in the past month, and although there was some dealer de-stocking during the first 10 days or so of this month there has been nothing approximating to the general unloading once anticipated.

The question of when to defer

Accounting exposure draft 19 has inevitably been overshadowed by its big brother, exposure draft 18, which, in the global scale of these things, is as it should be. But it would be a pity if the heated arguments over current cost accounting (ED18) allowed the proposals on deferred tax (ED19) to go through on the nod. The accountancy profession has stood on its head on this issue in less than two years, which is remarkable enough in itself to merit some attention.

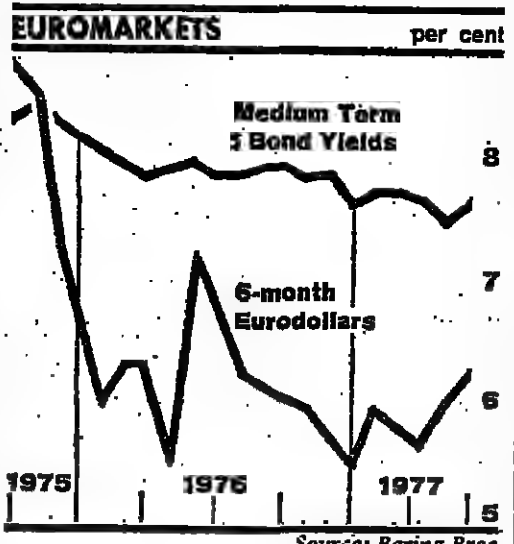
To recap, in September 1975 a new standard on deferred tax, SSAP 11, decreed that full provision for deferred tax should be made in profit and loss accounts from January 1, 1976. Subsequently, the stock relief scheme inflated hugely the deferred tax item in most companies' balance sheets, although it has been clear for some time that the Chancellor has no intention of trying to collect the tax.

This apparent anomaly led to the postponement of the standard, and now ED19 has been published, proposing that provisions should no longer be necessary where the tax saving will continue "for the foreseeable future".

In effect, it would seem, companies will be free to transfer deferred tax relating to such things as stock relief and capital allowances straight to reserve. Stockbrokers Phillips & Drew have calculated that the complete elimination of deferred tax on a sample of 120 leading companies would lift earnings by 30-35 per cent and net assets by 17 per cent.

Why the about-turn? Have the

What run-down in holdings there was has to be seen in the context of the \$2,000m of issues launched into the market—sufficient to impose a strain even at the most buoyant of times. Since then, moreover, the market has quite comfortably absorbed a \$500m issue from the European Community, a \$125m offering from Deutsche Bank and



other smaller ones besides. Sweden is coming into the market for \$200m, and there is no particular worry about the response.

All of this is a clear sign that the Eurobond market has moved into a much more mature phase. In 1973-74, it may be recalled, short-term dollar rates climbed above longer rates so that dealers were forced to carry their inventories at a running loss. The result was some heavy selling and a number of dealers pulled out of the market entirely. Institutional support for the market was so thin that prices collapsed, and the market as a whole only came through by the skin of its teeth. Issue volume in 1974 was negligible.

The past two and a half years, by contrast, have seen short rates 2-3 points below long. Issue activity has boomed and traders have been happy to hold huge portfolios, both for capital and for running profits. So at least it seemed.

With Eurodollars costing 6 1/2 per cent and prime five-year bonds yielding around 7 1/2 per cent there are still running profits to be had—albeit smaller, and it may be, therefore, that the real squeeze is not yet on. But the storm clouds have been clearly hoisted as a result of the interest rate upturn and most dealers have adjusted their portfolios accordingly. So it may be that the overhang is not so big as some have thought. The institutional support is apparently still fairly solid.

accountants suddenly realised their previous arguments were riddled with intellectual inconsistencies? If so, why were these not pointed out at the time? Or are the cynics right when they say that the accountants have simply caved in to the pressure from industrialists now that the sums involved have become so much greater than anyone imagined?

Bankers, certainly, will not be keen to allow companies to treat deferred tax as shareholders' funds for gearing purposes when the tax might ultimately be payable, whether in the "foreseeable future" or not. Some conservative finance directors will take the same view.

Until the Chancellor eliminates all possibility of ultimate payment of past stock relief many will continue to fear that he will change his mind, possibly as a way of getting his hands on equity when companies cannot pay—as most would not be able to. What does a "foreseeable future" mean anyway? One year? Five years?

Also, the opponents will argue, ED19 presupposes that companies will be growing as well as going concerns, since deferred tax may become payable if investment and stock levels fall in monetary terms.

The question ultimately, however, is whether accounts should show the true position at a particular time rather than one postulating potential future liabilities. With both investor and corporate interest focussing so closely on cash inflows and outflows, the case for showing tax bills as they actually fall payable is powerful—even if occasionally this does nasty things to earnings.

When the first jumbo jet went into service serious doubts were expressed about the insurance market's ability to cover single risks where the value of an aircraft hull alone topped \$10m (about £5.9m).

Within the next few years North Sea oil production platforms—with a replacement value of \$1,000m apiece—are expected to be floated into place. Not surprisingly serious doubts are again being expressed about the insurance market's ability to cope with these "jumbo" sized risks.

Since the first such risks appeared the world's insurers, taking their lead from the London market, have ceased to be over-awed by the sheer weight of money involved in any single policy. The increase in cover required has been paralleled by a steady increase in underwriting capacity.

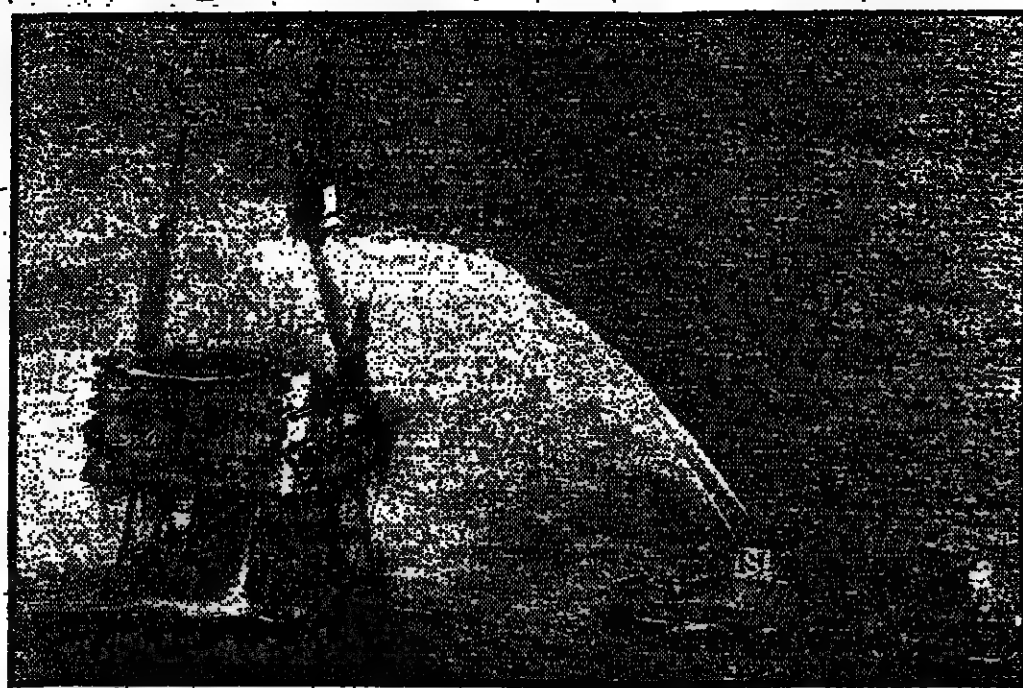
On top of that general increase, additional underwriting muscle has been drawn in from beyond the traditional jumbo risk writers—at Lloyd's and among the more adventurous insurance companies—by insurance brokers able to place risks in the international aviation and offshore markets on the strength of a remarkably claim-free record in recent years.

A catastrophic claim or two would shake much of this marginal capacity from the market. If, at the same time, the residual underwriting capacity failed to grow in pace with the scale of cover required, some of the huge risks on the horizon would become uninsurable.

That is the crisis everyone in the insurance market fears. The question now how to forestall it.

The apparently inexorable growth of jumbo risks has

Can insurers carry the growing weight of 'jumbo' risks?



The Ekofisk Bravo production platform is doused with water after the "blow-out" in the North Sea. The cover against loss for new platforms is rising sharply.

cover against loss, at least two under construction, are expected to be insured for between \$500m and \$600m and the \$1,000m platform is only a matter of time.

As Mr Leslie Sewell, of the insurance broking group Lowman Lambert, commented recently, the offshore oil business presents insurers with "the most difficult challenge yet—asset values of enormous magnitude allied to state-of-the-art technology confronting them with problems of a size and complexity encountered in few other areas of the market."

Several newer platforms now in production have \$400m of

lead in placing jumbo risks both on and off-shore, feels that underwriting capacity for the North Sea is already stretched close to its limit.

The market can handle the present level of cover required for platform hulls. But the brokers echo the views of underwriters throughout the London market in pointing out that the wider liabilities on these rigs—potential pollution claims, the financial interruption costs of a platform failure and so forth—are proving increasingly difficult to place.

Insurer-government agreements

sible solution to the far open-ended liabilities now being the underwriters' lot. But state underwriting in form is not common where it does apply, it is come into play well beyond levels of claims that insurance market would as a major catastrophe.

Underwriting capacity the North Sea, is the beginning to look threadbare, particularly increasing proportion of insurance cover for the oil spills over from the oil companies' own insurance into the international market.

The final claims bill for the Tenerife air crash earlier year could be more \$400m. But there is more adequate underwriting in the aviation market, the hardening of aviation insurance market would add to that capacity in long-term. The marine is also free of capacity w despite individual risks rising to as high as \$150 the latest generation of fixed-gate carriers.

In fact, the only area to compare with North Sea is excess loss for natural disasters. The marine market has been created by an earthquake big Japanese city, in C. Asia, Mexico or any of a dozen other areas would dwarf a simple of form collapse.

The scale of the potential liabilities over cover for earthquake-prone areas is that here the capacity is showing through as jumbo risks are becoming insurable.

John Brer

Industrial strategy 9: fork lift trusts

Need for a five-point turn to clear the obstacles

Edward Townsend

There is little doubt that the recent spate of mergers within the fragmented British industrial truck industry has helped enormously to confirm the wisdom of one of the objectives laid down by the industry sector working party sponsored by the National Economic Development Office.

Restructuring of the industry, which makes equipment like fork lift trucks and straddle carriers, was identified a year ago by the working party as vital if British companies were to become more effective in world markets.

Since then, Lansing Bagnall has merged with Heston Fork Lift and—more significantly—has the involvement of the National Enterprise Board with British Leyland—Covington Climax (part of British Leyland's special products division) has taken over Rubery Owen Conveyors.

In the face of the growing power of the American multinationals and the Japanese, United Kingdom industrial truck manufacturers accepted years ago the need for a rationalisation of their operations, but the two recent mergers are the first signs of any significant action.

They may prove to be only the tip of the iceberg. Indeed, the working party in its latest progress report said: "Despite the fact that the industry is likely to reduce fragmentation in the British-owned industry, further structural changes affecting individual product groups and the industry as a whole are recognised as necessary."

Despite the presence of representatives of American companies on the working party, the strategy being formulated is designed to boost the international competitiveness of the United Kingdom industry.

A pointer to future developments may be found in the working party's exhortation to British producers to "seek partners in other European Community countries for, as the progress report states, the entire output of the British-owned sector does not today provide a production base as large as some individual Japanese or United States companies."

As a result, the industry needs to consider how the provision of larger scale operations can be made. "Identification of synergistic partnerships (not necessarily in equity terms) across EEC frontiers with national producers in France, West Germany and Italy may be worthwhile. These industries have a not dissimilar motive for change and are required to find a "modus operandi" with the multinationals."

The industry must consider the achievement of increased capacity, greater model compatibility and more rational use of resources in research and development. The high cost of expansion could be more easily assimilated.

Furthermore, in relation to winning the necessary financial backing, the working party stresses that so far as national operations within the United Kingdom are concerned, Equity Capital for industry, merchant bank consortia, the City generally and the NEB "need to be alerted to propositions early."

Today, the industry employs 14,000 workers and, the working party says, has a "deserved reputation for well engineered and innovative products."

But for Britain to achieve a strong third position among western world producers (after the United States and Japan), with possibly 15 per cent, as opposed to the present 8 per cent, of world output, British assets will need to be developed as home with the EEC and elsewhere.

Five key areas, including the need to accelerate restructuring, have now been identified.

Total sales, says the working party, should be increased to more than £265m and exports to £180m by the end of the decade. This would mean a 4.4 per cent rise per year in total sales, but an optimistic 16.5 per cent increase in exports. High interest rates, world market conditions and credit requirements will make the latter difficult to achieve.

Imports should be reduced from 22 per cent in 1975 to 20 per cent by 1980 by more United Kingdom sourcing of components and by the British industry capturing a greater share of home sales. More than a third of the 1975 total import of United Kingdom consumption (£12.1m of £35.8m) was accounted for by components imported by both multinationals and national producers.

The working party adds: "The penetration of imports (a total of £38.5m in 1976) at a time when indigenous production capacity is available and the terms of trade are in Britain's favour provides cause for concern."

A "greatly improved interface" between manufacturers and suppliers is also called for to eliminate the effects of "a history of poor and often bitter relations." Some companies have already begun to compare notes in more detail but long lead times in delivery of some components could produce bottlenecks in the event of a quick upturn in business.

For example, quoted delivery times for hydraulic pumps and valves are between five and nine months, for transmissions four to six months and in the case of electric motors 12 months.

Finally, the industry is called upon to make a deliberate and sustained effort "to identify and improve those areas of its activity associated with the fullest use of its manpower." Productivity might be raised, the working party says, by improving the performance of low productivity plants to the level of the most efficient.

Michael Frenchman

Coffee: the search for the super bean

The recent frost in the southern part of Paraná state in Brazil which sent world coffee prices soaring to £3.500 per tonne is the latest of disaster that coffee growers fear most. But it was nothing like as bad as the one on July 17, 1975, which cut production virtually overnight from 23 million bags to six million.

Commercial harvesting is now approaching its peak and the 1977-78 crop is, according to Senhor Silvio de Azevedo Lima, of the Brazilian Coffee Institute in London, expected to reach about 14 million bags.

"With increased prices following the frost there has been a big incentive for farmers to plant more trees, especially as our stocks had been exhausted," said Senhor Lima at the end of last month.

"We now have about 13 billion bags and by the end of next year there will be 21 billion."

There are two basic strains of coffee. One is to produce a strain of coffee that is resistant to the rust which periodically ravages crops and has to be replaced. The other objective is to create a strain of coffee that will give a higher yield.

The rust is a fungus which appears to the leaves of coffee bushes, even despoiling it. The rust, fairly common, was found on a large scale in Brazil only in 1970. By 1972 it had reached such proportions that more than a million coffee bushes were destroyed and had to be replaced.

The other objective is to create a strain of coffee that will give a higher yield.

Research also takes account improved soil fertilisation, protection and cultural practices. Results to date have been promising as far as improvement of yields are concerned. Already in the Paraná region average yields have more than doubled from 450 kilograms a hectare to 1,000kg in some plantations.

These astonishing results have been achieved by a study of the genetic characteristics of the main 66 species of coffee. Two of the leading research stations are Dr. Val Carmo Monico and Dr. Alcides Gonçalves. Their work has led to the creation of new strains through cross-breeding, the so-called "Novos", which produces a per cent increase in the yield of clean coffee compared to the more traditional "arabica Bourbon Vermelho" types.

Analysis of the coffee beans and the chance of using genes which confer characteristics such as resistance to frost. The scientists can exercise a level of control over the seedling which they are to create. This can be changes in leaf structure, growth height, of flowers and so on, producing a more resistant plant. About six mutations with rust resistance have been identified.

About half the cost of coffee is taken up by fertilising which is done by Now experiments are carried out to develop a mechanical harrow to be used in the state of São Paulo. This is situated high up in the hills in the small town of Campinas which is north of São Paulo City.

Because of the good climate, free from the pollution of the industrial metropolis of São Paulo, it is locally well known for its many hospitals but more famous internationally for the coffee research centre which is run by the Agricultural Institute.

The Institute, founded 90 years ago this

year, has been carrying out intensive work in coffee trees to produce more healthy coffee trees and to increase crop yields.

Intensive work is being carried out in Brazil to produce more healthy coffee trees and to increase crop yields.

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Business Diary in Portugal: Should it prove fair weather

Ross Davies, Business Diary Editor, reports on Portugal, Britain's oldest trading partner, in the month that marks the first anniversary of parliamentary democracy. The election by universal and secret suffrage last June of President Eanes was followed by the swearing-in of a minority socialist government headed by Dr Soares. Like Jim Callaghan, Soares is trying to hold down personal incomes at a time of high inflation, but unlike the British PM, the Portuguese leader is an ardent EEC supporter. He sees acceptance of his country's recent application for EEC membership as making less likely a threat to parliamentary democracy from either left or right.



Not standing for any rough stuff on this supporters' special: The Portuguese president, General Eanes (left) and Prime Minister, Dr Soares (right).

Antonio Vasco de Mello's office at CIP, the Portuguese equivalent of the CBI, is on the first floor of a nine-storey block, below the offices of Honeywell Bull, Price Waterhouse and CIBA-Geigy.

It's as if the position were chosen to show how much further Portuguese industry has to go before it can take its place with the internationally-competitive big-leaguers. But Vasco de Mello, CIP's young founder-president is in there pushing.

He stepped out of the fortnightly council meeting to see me at 6.30 pm, nine hours after the meeting had begun.

The two main items on the agenda, he told me, were the allocation of responsibilities on the reconstituted council and a scheme for the reorganisation of the textile industry—by common consent, with ship repairing, the only internationally competitive (if unevenly so) industry the Portuguese have.

Vasco de Mello comes not like his incoming British counterpart John Greenborough, from a multinational (Shell UK), but from a family firm, Companhia Previdente, a Lisbon wiremaker which escaped nationalization in 1974.

Portuguese industry, Vasco de Mello admits, is not up to

scratch but only because of 50 years of dictatorship which stifled talent and initiative.

"I think the Portuguese will adapt to the EEC quicker than either the Spanish or the British," he told me. "The Portuguese may lack competence now but they are more outward-looking than the Spanish. The British are competent all right—their tragedy is that they're lazy."

I spent an afternoon in a sunny Lisbon cloudburst through the window when Raquel de Bethencourt Ferreira came into the room.

Each man had his own gloss to put on each answer, Torres (who attended the recent Scottish TUC) in English, Ernesto Cartaxo in Portuguese, and Gonçalves in French, the tongue in which he is happier when discussing politics.

At times they became so absorbed in their respective variations upon each theme that I felt that they could have gone on quite happily without me.

secretary, Jose Ernesto Cartaxo, a member of the eight-man (and one woman) executive and Andre Gonçalves, a left-wing journalist who acts as Inter-sindical spokesman.

However, I hung on, determined to triumph where legions of others have failed, to set a strategic answer to the two big questions of the day: Is Inter-sindical to advise its members to say yes or no to EEC accession, and how many members of the nine-man executive were Communist party members?

I have to report that I failed miserably on both counts, receiving replies rather than answers, polite, eloquent but uninformative.

My impression was that, one, Inter-sindical, although Communist-run, has realized that effectiveness not ideology is the best recruiting sergeant for the confederation; and, two, that internal disagreements as much as anything else are holding up the EEC policy decision, and will do so until indecisiveness makes Inter-sindical look slier than Disney.

I was gloomily watching an unusual Lisbon cloudburst through the window when Raquel de Bethencourt Ferreira came into the room.

"The weather reminds me of home," I mused, to which she replied, "We're trying to harmonize with EEC standards, although I personally feel that it would be better if community weather could be harmonized up to Portuguese standards rather than the other way around."

The elegant Dr de Bethencourt Ferreira is the only woman member of the inter-sindical think-tank monitoring EEC developments.

It was quite common for Portuguese women to be found in the professions, she told me—but not because Portuguese men were particularly advanced in this regard.

"For a long time girls could become either a typist or a teacher, doctor or lawyer—but nothing in between, especially in business or industry."

"For this reason," she said "many parents—including mine—gave their daughters a better education than in some countries where in-between jobs were easier to find."

Dr de Bethencourt Ferreira became an international lawyer specializing in aviation with TAP, the state airline, after reading law at Lisbon University.

She then heard of a job going with Portugal's delegation to EFTA at Geneva and applied. They were less stuffy there than in Lisbon, gave her the job and she was on her way.

All that was before the revolution of 1974. Were things easier for women now? Yes, she said, but added: "Even men who see themselves progressive in politics can be conservative where women are concerned."

[To be concluded tomorrow]

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Newman Inds hopes for doubled profits of £3.4m

areas for growth and long-term profitability.

The corporate structure envisaged for Newman at the end of the current year should be "ideally suited" to the maximization of exports and overseas business. Any improvement in the United Kingdom economy therefore, should add to the overall profit and expansion of the manufacturing base here.

On incomes policy the chairman says if the present restraint is maintained in such a form as to be detrimental to those who accept responsibility and the anxiety of decision makers, long-term forecasts will inevitably be endangered.

Lufthansa well ahead of target

Commenting on last year the chairman says there were varying degrees of progress in the United Kingdom.

The year started with unease and despondency, giving way to some optimism in the third and fourth quarters. The corrugated division had a sound year with adequate profits and a volume increase of about 5 per cent. Market share remained relatively steady.

Production at the paper mill division was up by 12 per cent

Deutsche Lufthansa AG, the West German airline, achieved its best ever results last year with earnings rising to DM166.3m (about £39.5m) from DM66m in 1975. This was on 13.2 per cent higher revenues of DM4,256m.

Although Dr Herbert Culmann, Lufthansa's chief executive said that he was "not sure of the optimistic" about prospects for this year, earnings should again total more than DM100m. Revenue in the first four months of this year were 6.8 per cent up on those in the same period of 1976 and DM30m ahead of target.

the unsecured loan capital is quoted. In 1976 it paid the parent a £600,000 interim dividend but this time it is plough-

Reporting profits a little ahead at \$155,000 before tax, against \$145,000, building and materials group Western Brothers says the manufacturing division felt the impact of the downturn in housebuilding and construction. But it maintained turnover by concentrating on the home market.

In the trading division, progress has been made in installing equipment to extend the range of its supplies. Improved, more economic, methods of sand extraction are being studied.

A new company Western Electric is forming to design, promote and develop the cable jointing system devised by the group's composites company.

Mathesons terms for Lloyd's broker

Mathesons Investments, a United Kingdom subsidiary of Jardine Matheson, is making an agreed bid for Thompson Graham, Lloyd's insurance brokers.

Full acceptance of the basic consideration will involve the issue of about £5.5m nominal of loan stock and acceptance of an alternative consideration would mean the issue of £5.36m of loan stock and up to 20

French take over SCAN computer

On the strength of last year's results holders of Lufthansa's ordinary and preference shares will receive dividends of 7 per cent, which will account for DM42m of the company's DM112.3m balance sheet surplus. The remaining DM70.3m will be paid into open reserves.

Herr Culmann attributed the improvement in profits to two main factors. First, Lufthansa's load factor rose by one percentage point to 58 per cent, and earnings rose faster than costs. The number of passengers flown increased by 10.6 per cent to 11.2 millions and the

Barclays Internet

Conditions include approval of the Committee of Lloyd's and

Previously ICFC held 75 per cent of CRC's issued share capital.

airline achieved growth on all its routes with the exception of those to South America.

Up by one third

At a time of sluggish advances and drooping interest rates for Barclays Bank in Britain, along with Barclays International's help put things right, profits before tax and ordinary items rose by one third to £55.8m. Mr. A. F. Tulcey, chairman, says that most of the increase came from growth in business around the world and the rest from exchange movements. But he adds that the results for the second half year will probably show little change. Barclays International is wholly owned by Barclays Bank but

the necessary exchange control consents.

Mersey Docks moves into £4.5m profit

Quiet confidence in the port of Liverpool was expressed yesterday by Mr John Page, retiring chairman of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Co, presiding for the last time over the annual meeting in the Liverpool headquarters.

He leaves at the end of the month to take over the chairmanship of the National Ports Council. The meeting unani-

Sears Roebuck bright

Sears Roebuck, the United States stores giant, said sales for the four weeks ended May 28 rose by 17.1 per cent to a record \$1,400m (about £823.5m) from \$1,200m a year earlier. Mr Arthur M. Wood, chairman, said the increase was the largest percentage gain since June, 1973. He said sales were strong throughout the country, with double digit increases in all lines of merchandise. Sears benefited from: unseasonably warm weather in the eastern

In the three years to the end of 1979, Lufthansa will invest a total of DM394m. It will then have to begin replacing a large part of its fleet.

Herr Culmann disclosed that 15 Boeing 707s will be due for replacement around 1980. Although there is as yet no suitable replacement aircraft on the market, the company's Boeing 727 and 737 aircraft will have to be replaced a few years later. He held out no hope of Lufthansa ever using Concorde. As far as his airline is concerned, Concorde is "taboo", he said.

Mr. K. J. Pateman has joined the board of Johnson Matthey Bank.

Mr. Christopher Marley has become a director of Guinness Bank.

Mr. R. Preston has been made director of John Deere & Sons.

Mr. W. J. Cummings has been chosen president of the American Slidley Companies.

Mr. J. M. Durber has become deputy chairman of the Electrical and Electronic Companies.

Mr. J. M. Durber has been appointed and continues as managing director of the company.

Mr. R. C. Bellamy is made a director of the American Slidley Companies.

Mr. B. Smith is now finance director of Potter Power Generation.

Mr. J. M. Durber has been made technical director of S. C. Brown.

Mr. Conway Love is now a director of Johnson Matthey Bank.

Mr. John M. Lewis is now a director of Johnson Matthey Bank.

Mr. J. A. Page and Mr. Robert J. A. C. Wallace-Turner have been vice-presidents of Bankers Trust.

Briefly

Kaduna and Selukwe agree

Federate

and Chemical

Local Holding

After Kaduna Syndicate had already turned down an earlier offer, it has now accepted

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6

the regions

Light industry is concentrated on three new estates on the outskirts, at Marsh Barton, Sowden and Pinhoe.

Manufacturing does not, however, occupy a dominant position in the city's economy. Of about 62,500 employed in all industries, and services, the distributive trades account for 32,200, public administration for 6,500, construction work for 6,200, other service industries (including insurance, banking, transport, communications and professional services) for 23,900, and manufacturing industries for 7,600.

Nor is there likely to be a very marked expansion in the near future, largely because of lack of space for development.

The scenic beauty of the wooded hills which surround it means that development takes place only on the lower slopes or the river plain. But the river plain itself is subject to sudden flooding, as water from rain-swollen Exmoor and the other hills of north and central Devon

received terms from Selukwe Gold Mining. The new terms for 13 Selukwe shares for every 100 shares of Selukwe in addition to 100 shares for cash alternative of 16p a share.

HUNTING CUSKON
Pre-tax profit for 1976 up from £2,010 to £3,341 on turnover increased from £123m to £136m. Profit after tax and corporation tax matched the increase coming from an Australian vessel. Ship trading losses not as severe as in 1975.

SHARE PLACE INVESTMENTS
Board plans to refinance loan from First National Bank of Chicago of \$385,000 as rate of interest falls. Long-term loan negotiated from IFC of £400,000 repayable over 10 years. IFC option to buy 1 July 1, 1978. IFC option to subscribe £75,000 for 500,000 ordinary shares.

FINNISH - LOAN
Imatran Voima Oskasto, a Finnish power producer, has agreed to float a 20m European units of account loan on International Capital Markets. The loan will be a maximum duration of 10 years.

results

Although our results for 1976 are treated on an associated company basis including the deaths of Charles and our North American companies, Tioxide Group had an excellent year with sales of £1,094,572 to £2,408,104, our company (including tax credits) compared favourably. Although the world economy did not increase by just less than 50% in 1976, our Canadian subsidiary recovered from the Canadian economy and the new management team in Canada was a major contributor to our profits. Our manufacturing activities in Canada are a valuable financial resource. We have, in fact, completed a profitable sale of SOAB Limited.

its

Summer John S

are dominated by the performance
ary basis, a major improvement
Keith, founder of Kingsley & Kel
s since 1968.

year and the profits before tax a
ash flow only directly benefits to
with £513,633 in 1975. -

id not recover significantly during
s and profits very nearly trebled.

vered well. In the first half of 1978
the loss of Brian Jobling and one of
ada is working well. Our company
s again in due course.

recent years have overall results
therefore, decided to reduce our
d during 1976. Although Microfine

parised statement b
sparrow

of Toxide Group Limited, which
in our trading activities has taken
with in 1946 and of Brian Jobling, w

attributable to our holding of 12.82
the extent of dividend received, w

g 1976 our trading divisions perfor

but in the second half suffered fro
his senior colleagues. After a pe
by there will not make much profit

ed in losses and an excessive div
commitments in manufacturing, th
the Minerals and Chemicals Limited

ve centre

...poners down to the sea. The same conditions create problems with the laying of new sewage works, which will be necessary before extensive developments.

The existing industrial estates, which are neat, attractive and considerably houseless, will attract a few shops—about 17 acres in all—but these are not likely to remain vacant long. Nor is there a vast reservoir of labour, for the most recent unemployment figures show 5.7 per cent, which is better than the average for the area (6.4 per cent) and for the country as a whole.

Among the largest factories on the estates are those of the Brownlee Gas Turbine Components Group, which employs about 450 workers. The castings for manufacturers of Exeter are supplied to aircraft manufacturers, oil companies and other users of gas turbines. About 40 per cent of its output is exported from an annual turnover of £1.2 million.

Another local company is A. Wheaton, a printing and educational publisher which has operated in the city since 1906.

Ralph Whitlock

profit in 1978, we have engaged Clonmel Chemicals Company to considerably in view of the question reorganisation and for any liquidation. Our associated chemical manufacturing Neither the British nor the world uncertainties that lie ahead. However, our results in 1977 of our quarter have made full provision for in 1977.

The directors have decided to maximum permitted under pres

Year to 31 December
Turnover
Profit before taxation
Profit after taxation
Extraordinary items (Note)
Earned for ordinary shares
Dividend per share
Dividend cover
Net tangible assets per share
Diluted earnings per share excluding extraordinary items

*As if Tioxide Group Limited had been listed

and in negotiations which we hope will be successful. The company is Limited had another very bad year, but we are confident that the recession mark over its future. Accordingly, we have decided to effect a temporary diminution in value of our investment in the company. All manufacturing units all had a good year and the company's overall economy is flourishing at the moment. However, we expect that Tioxide will continue to be a profitable principal U.K. trading activities has been very good. We are happy that our problem areas and we are happy to recommend a final dividend of 2.0 pence per share subject to the present legislation.

Summary

1076	
£46,818,580	£3,000,000
£2,955,100	£1,000,000
£1,709,473	£1,000,000
£(207,343)	£1,000,000
£1,502,130	£1,000,000
£2922p	£1,000,000
3.20	£1,000,000
65.97p	£1,000,000
including	£1,000,000
11.48p	£1,000,000

as an associated company in 1975

will lead to its sale later this year.

ar and, since the year end, we have

dingly the 1976 accounts provide a

vestment.

er and we expect continued improve-

ment and shareholders will be a

it again make a major contribution

have been encouragingly better than

hopeful that the results for the Group

0010p per share, making a total for

of Results

*1975	Note
30,856,849	Extraordinary item
£1,081,947	our interests in
£491,069	by profits on sale
£541,777	
£1,032,846	Federated Chemicals
2.9929p	holding company
2.42	group engaged in
56.31p	mineral distribution
	manufacturing.
3.30p	Copies of the full
	from the Secretary
	Limited, Suffolk
	CR9 3QL.

Year to 31 December	1978	*1975	Note
Turnover	£46,813,580	£30,856,849	Extraordinary items largely represent writing down our interests in some of our subsidiaries, partly offset by profits on sales of a subsidiary and investments.
Profit before taxation	£2,955,100	£1,081,947	
Profit after taxation	£1,709,473	£491,069	
Extraordinary items (Note)	£(207,343)	£541,777	
Earnings for ordinary shares	£1,502,130	£1,032,846	Federated Chemical Holdings Limited is a holding company controlling and co-ordinating a group engaged in chemical, pharmaceutical and mineral distribution, trading processing and manufacturing.
Dividend per share	3.2922p	2.9923p	
Dividend cover	3.20	2.42	
Net tangible assets per share	65.97p	56.31p	
Diluted earnings per share excluding extraordinary items	11.48p	3.30p	Copies of the full report and accounts are obtainable from the Secretary, Federated Chemical Holdings Limited, Suffolk House, George Street, Croydon, CR9 3QL.

*As if Thea Chemicals Group Limited had been treated as an associated company in 1975

*As FTioxide Group Limited had been treated as an associated company in 1975

FINANCIAL NEWS AND MARKET REPORTS

EEC issue removes some of the anxiety about excessive supplies

A \$300m two-tranche issue of the European Economic Community performed reasonably well when trading started last week so that some of the anxiety about the market impact of excessive supplies of new Eurobond issues was reduced, write AP-Dow Jones.

None the less, dealers said that neither the EEC issue nor some of the other recent offerings are yet fully placed with the final investor. And while underwriters and selling group members are working hard to reduce the backlog of unsold paper, the market will remain vulnerable to a selloff if interest rates start to shift upward again, some dealers assert.

The EEC offering consisted of a \$300m, five-year tranche at 99 bearing 7.5 per cent annually to yield 7.75 per cent at maturity and a \$300m, seven-year tranche at 99 bearing 7.75 per cent to yield 7.94 per cent.

The five-year tranche was quoted last Friday at 98 offered to yield 8.0 per cent while the seven-year tranche was quoted

at 97.5 offered to yield 8.23 per cent.

Though both tranches were reoffered in the market below the subscription price, this was more or less expected since underwriters were able to make up in volume what they lost by shaving their 1.5 per cent selling group commission.

Nevertheless, the market price of 97.5 offered for the seven-year tranche indicated that some underwriters were willing to give up their entire selling group commission and be content with just their 0.375 per cent underwriting fee.

Much the same scenario is anticipated for a \$200m two-tranche issue scheduled for offering on June 14. Managed by Credit Suisse-White Weld, the offering comprises a \$100m five-year tranche bearing 7.5 per cent and a \$100m 10-year tranche bearing 8.25 per cent.

Like the short-dated EEC notes, the five-year Swedish tranche is expected to be priced at 99 to yield 7.75 per cent. However, the 10-year tranche should be priced near par. Underwriters say this is just-

fied by the fact that the 10-year tranche provides a sinking fund which will reduce the average life to 8.2 years.

Thus, the average life is not much longer than the seven-year maturity of the EEC issue, yet the coupon rate is a half point higher than the EEC issue.

Among other scheduled offerings is a \$400m 18-year issue of the European Coal and Steel Community, bearing 9 per cent. The intention of the syndicate manager, Banque De Paris Et Des Pays-Bas, is to offer investors a high coupon rate in return for a long maturity and initial reports from underwriters suggest that the strategy will be successful.

The offering also represents an attempt by Eurobond underwriters to compete with the "Yankee" bond market in New York, where a few issues of 20-year maturity have been floated. For example, a \$75m 20-year issue of the European Investment Bank was floated in New York at par bearing 9 per cent semi-annually to yield 9.20 per cent on an annual coupon basis comparable with Eurobond issues.

Freight report

Holidays in several countries added to the already gloomy state of the tanker market to make last week one of the worst for a trading standpoint so far this year.

Further disappointment came from the fixing of two combination carriers in obtaining cargo, many a tanker would have liked. The largest of these charters involved Concord which was rumoured to have taken a 115,000 tonner for a transatlantic trip from the Mediterranean at world scale 22.5.

A smaller 45,000 ton dead weight oil carrier was also booked for a continent/Brazil trip at world scale 45.

About midweek, a further 110,000 ton combination carrier was fixed at world scale 30 by the China Petroleum Company to fill a requirement for a Gulf/Taiwan trip. Gulf trading was again very slack last week with little new inquiries providing any incentives for improvement.

At present, it is difficult to see what future patterns for rates will be with some brokers feeling there will remain static before rising. Others still foresee them falling before going up again.

By comparison, the Mediterranean market continued to be fairly active, with a few issues of demand for tankers between 60/90,000 tons dead weight. However, rates on both the inter-Mediterranean and transatlantic routes tended to be low. Caribbean chartering was generally slack.

In the dry cargo markets, holiday fever also struck. This effectively dampened the strength of South American demand of the previous week, and prevented a 3 million ton grain purchase from Canada by China from even causing a ripple among charterers.

The deal, which is in addition to the purchase of 1.5 million tons in January, will be shipped between August this year, and July, 1978—all from Canadian west coast ports.

David Robinson

Dublin Bank profits up 11pc

Profits of City of Dublin Bank rose 11.6 per cent to £154,000 in the six months to March before tax. Earnings a share were 1.05p, against 1.21p.

Mr Thomas Kenny, chairman, says the demand for instalment credit lending has been strong with lending increased by £2m to £12m.

Troubled Montedison says sales weaker

Sales show signs of weakening, especially in Italy reports Montedison, the troubled Italian chemicals and fibres group.

Sales difficulties had also risen for some electromechanical products and for ferro-alloys. At present Montedison is going

International

through managerial troubles. Its president, Signor Augusto Cefis, decided to resign and the syndicate controlling the group is expected to undergo a reshuffle soon. The group pointed out that the positive results achieved in the first four months of this year reflected commercial enterprises started abroad to compensate for a likely decline in domestic demand.

CHICAGO SOYBEANS. Most futures contracts for soybeans were up 1/4 to 1/2 cent. The July contract rose 1/4 cent to 50.75 cents. The August contract rose 1/2 cent to 51.25 cents. The September contract rose 1/4 cent to 51.75 cents. The October contract rose 1/4 cent to 52.25 cents. The November contract rose 1/4 cent to 52.75 cents. The December contract rose 1/4 cent to 53.25 cents.

More share prices

The following will be added to the London and Regional Share Price List tomorrow and will be published daily in Business News:

Commercial and Industrial International Plc

Wall Street

New York, June 7.—Stock prices closed mostly higher with the Dow Jones industrial average bouncing successfully off the 900 level.

The industrial average was ahead 5.60 points to 908.67. Advancing issues led declines by about 778 to about 582.

Analysts attributed the rebound largely to the industrial index's ability to stay above 900. It has been struggling with this level since early January.

Since early January, the most active NYSE issues, and was ahead 1 to 8 after trading as high as 84.

Silver dips 2.90 cents

Silver prices fell 2.90 cents to 10.15 cents per ounce. The gold price was 340.00 dollars per ounce.

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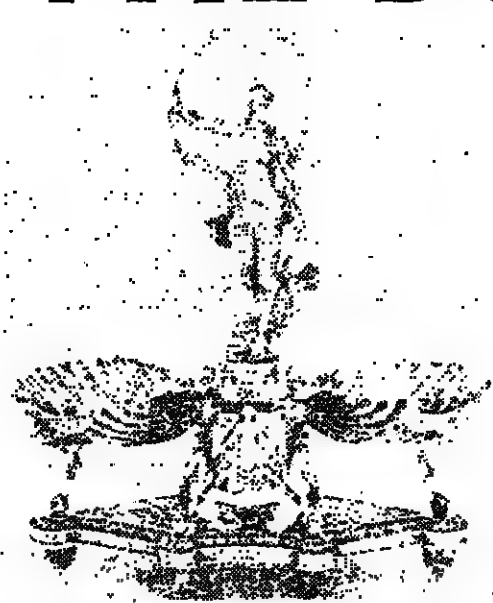
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Art Buyers' Guide

THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE



The June issue celebrates The Queen's Silver Jubilee with a commemorative cover, and the following articles:

Leonardo Discoveries. Jane Roberts and Carlo Pedretti discuss Leonardo's drawings in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, recently revealed by Ultra Violet light.

Napoleonic Silver in Edinburgh. Julia Poole publishes a Neo-Classical silver-gilt service made for Napoleon, recently acquired by The Royal Scottish Museum.

Early English Plate. John Cooper clarifies dates, styles and makers' marks of English late Gothic and early "Renaissance" plate.

Drawings for Goldsmiths' Work. J. F. Hayward publishes some Roman 16th century designs in the V. & A.

Other articles are on Maffeo Verona, Francisco Holanda and Richard Wilson as well as the usual book and exhibition reviews.



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The June issue also includes the important supplement 'Notable Works of Art now on the Market'

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The Commonwealth

The Commonwealth

Q.E.D.

'ount of no harm but much good

Of course, I realize that at times these noble intentions become buried under mounds of human weakness, failure and lack of imagination, but occasionally they manage to burst through. I was in China in March this year and experienced most fully this strange Commonwealth feeling, which so often seems to endure despite the difficulties of the day and the uncertainties of the future. I can only describe this feeling as being, as it were, "at home"—the consequence of many people in Commonwealth nations having shared experiences and similar beliefs, chiefly as a result of all the different associa-

It will have an even greater chance if the resolve is to make the most of the Commonwealth, to seek ways constantly of improving its effectiveness and potential in a world that badly needs its spirit and idealism.

**The unofficial Communist
today's leaders**

limits, 1944-75	IV	
Commonwealth ;	V	

Technical cooperation programme

nt	X
; youth	XI

1. Mr Forbes Burnham, Prime Minister of Guyana**
2. Mr Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica
3. Tadi Tupoula Tuafu, Prime Minister of Western Samoa
4. Prince Tu'i Pelekehake, Prime Minister of Tonga
5. Mr Eric Gairy, Prime Minister of Barbados
6. Mr Arthur Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago*
7. Mr Lynden Pindling, Prime Minister of Bahamas
8. Mr Pierre Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada
9. General I. K. Acheampong, Chairman, Supreme Military Council, Ghana
10. Sir David D'Oliveira, President of The Gambia
11. Mr Siaka Stevens, President of Sierra Leone
12. Mr Peter Adams, Prime Minister of Barbados
13. Mr James Callaghan, Prime Minister of Britain
14. Lieutenant-General Sir Reginald Leeper, Head of the Federal Military Government, Nigeria*
15. Chief Lesbia Jonathan, Minister of Lesotho
16. Sir Seretse Khama, Prime Minister of Botswana
17. Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus
18. Md Abdul Halil Idi Amin Dada, President of Uganda**
19. Mr Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia
20. Mr Dom Mintoff, Prime Minister of Malta
21. Colonel Maphery Harry Dianfili, Prime Minister of Swaziland
22. Dr Kenyatta Banda, President of Malawi
23. Mr Jomo Kenyatta, President of Kenya*
24. Mr Nyerere, President of Tanzania*
25. Major-General Ziaur Rahman, President of Bangladesh
26. Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius
27. Mr Morais Desai, Prime Minister of India
28. Mr Albert René, President of Seychelles*
29. Mr Michel Somare, Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea
30. Mr Lee Sze Kim, Prime Minister of Singapore
31. Datuk Hussein Bin Onn, Prime Minister of Malaysia
32. Mr Tan Sri Yusof Wazir bin Yusoff, Prime Minister of Sarawak*
33. Mr Robert McGlone, Prime Minister of New Zealand
34. Mr Ratu Inoke, Prime Minister of Vanuatu
35. Mr Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister of Australia

* Not attending conference in person
** attendance uncertain
† recognized by UK
‡ Nauro (President) Mr Bernard Dowogoo is a special member of the conference but was not represented at the conference.

Technical cooperation ; youth programme

XI
Nauru (President. Mr Bernard Dowiyogo) is a special member of the Commonwealth and is not represented at the conference.

All change in just 15 years

by Sir Harold Wilson

The Commonwealth heads of government meeting in London is the latest in a series dating back to the Colonial Conference in 1887, renamed imperial conferences from 1907, and the twenty-first since the war. Before the First World War, and indeed until after the Second World War, participants were solely from the old Commonwealth.

The first I attended, as President of the Board of Trade, was under Clement Attlee's chairmanship in 1951. Its members, with advisers, were easily accommodated round the Cabinet table in 10 Downing Street.

Eight countries were represented, including South Africa (10 years before its withdrawal from the 1961 conference as an alternative to expulsion), and the partially self-governing Southern Rhodesia.

They were primarily old Commonwealth, reflecting the declaration of their formal independence set out in the Statute of Westminster, 1931. The new members were the newly-independent India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

Compared with that attendance of eight, six of them, including South Africa and Rhodesia, were at the meeting chaired by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, together with Pakistan and 11 which had achieved nationhood since then. Those I chaired in London saw an increase in membership from 21 in 1965, to 22 in 1966 (Tanzania not attending), and 28 in 1969.

The most recent meeting, in Jamaica in 1975, was attended by 33, Nauru being absent. Since then Papua New Guinea and Seychelles have joined the roll of member nations. Although these days, with an agreed practice of meetings every two years, the venue for the next is usually left for settlement between conference and the Jamaica meeting accepted Britain's invitation to London during the jubilee celebrations. Mr Forbes Burnham, the Prime Minister of Guyana, remembering the intense cold of January 1969, stipulated that it should not be held in the winter. June had already been pencilled in the Queen's jubilee timetable.

The increase in the number of participants with almost world-wide representation, is one of the main causes of a fundamental change from the days of the old Commonwealth. It is not the only one. London is no longer the automatic venue.

The first to be held outside Britain was in Lagos in January 1966, shortly after

the Rhodesian UDI. It was marred by tragedy: even as heads of government were assembling we heard the news of Mr Shastri's death, and four days after we left Lagos our host, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, was murdered. It was Britain which proposed meetings elsewhere than London. I suggested to Lester Pearson that he should host the 1969 meeting in Ottawa, but he told me of his intention to resign, pointing out that his likely successor would have no experience of Commonwealth meetings.

In 1969 we agreed on Singapore, where the British delegation was led by the incoming Prime Minister, Mr Edward Heath. Canada and Jamaica were the next hosts.

The conference in recent years has been more representative of the modern world than any other international organization except the United Nations. The Soviet world, China, the Middle East, and, apart from Guyana, Latin America, are not represented. But it now accounts for just a quarter of the nations adhering to the United Nations, rather less than a quarter of the world's population.

I have often felt that the foreign offices of the world should have a series of wall-maps showing the main capitals they deal with as the centre of the surrounding environment. The map for the Soviet Union which hangs in the Kremlin gives a very different picture from Eurocentric maps, and goes a long way to explaining their past anxieties about encirclement and U2 bases.

The Commonwealth Conference does this in personal terms. I shall always remember a discussion on the Middle East, when the Indian Prime Minister said: "We do not call it the Middle East, we call it West Asia."

Regional areas of concern become matters of concern for all. Caribbean countries brought sharply home to Britain the anxieties about Belize. In 1969, I was greatly moved to hear the expressions of African countries west and east to our presentation of the British reaction to the Soviet Union's intervention in Czechoslovakia.

From the early 1960s Commonwealth conferences have been heavily involved with two problems, Rhodesia (and South Africa, but principally Rhodesia) and the EEC. We came nearest to a deep split in 1966 on the Rhodesian issue, where African countries could not understand why Britain, "the imperial power", did not crush the revolt by an invasion.

Tanzania broke off diplomatic relations. No one explained how one could invade a land-locked country protected from the sea by South Africa and a fascist-controlled Mozambique. Nor could they understand how Lord Caradon, our ambassador to New York in the 1960s, was a senior Foreign Office minister, and he convened regular meetings of the Commonwealth representatives there. This custom fell into

disuse in the early 1970s, but was revived by another political appointee, Mr Ivor Richard.

It is not an imperial group, each ambassador represents a sovereign state, but the emergence of a single view is no rare thing, and at times of difference at least there is full understanding of the views of each government. This is of inestimable value to Whitehall, and one would hope to our Commonwealth partners.

It is the views on world affairs seen from each different angle of the world that provides so much of the value to Britain and each of us, in our continuing relationships, bilaterally and through the Commonwealth Secretariat at Marlborough House, but above all, in the meeting of heads of government.

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In the United Nations there is week by week contact: Lord Caradon, our ambassador to New York in the 1960s, was a senior Foreign Office minister, and he convened regular meetings of the Commonwealth representatives there. This custom fell into



Sir Harold Wilson was host at the last Commonwealth conference to be held in London, in January, 1969. Held there rather than in Ottawa because of Mr Lester Pearson's imminent resignation, it was attended by leaders from 28 countries. Rhodesia was the main topic.

about British entry—just a month before the referendum. To my surprise he announced that all my 32 colleagues had unanimously agreed on a resolution regarding "their firm opinion that Commonwealth interests are in no way prejudiced by Britain's membership . . ."

The 1975 conference briefly discussed Rhodesia, but most of the negotiations were between the African presidents, as well as Mr Nkomo and Mr Sithole and others, and the British representatives. The main demand was that Britain should convene a constitutional conference directed towards early majority rule, a subject which has dominated the past year and more.

The EEC was a divisive factor in the early 1960s. It was the strength of Walter Nash's objections on behalf of New Zealand which moved Hugh Gaiskell into almost outright opposition to British membership in 1962, and other Commonwealth countries were equally critical.

How much has changed was shown in Jamaica in 1975. Without consultation with the Foreign Secretary or myself, Mr Michael Manley, as chairman, had discussions with all the others

world conferences such as Unctad IV disappointingly set aside, though it has recently been vigorously revived by the decisions of the North-South conference and indeed by the London summit meeting on May 8.

One of the biggest changes in recent years has been the successful establishment of the independent Commonwealth Secretariat, first under Mr Arnold Smith and now under Mr Shridath Ramphal. Commonwealth countries were grateful for the dedicated work of Whitehall civil servants in earlier years, but it was vital that the secretariat should be, and be seen to be, independent of any single country.

No account of the value of the conference to Britain and to its other members can be complete without reference to its informality, to the almost continuing bilateral meetings, on the fringe of the conference, and to evening functions. When it met in London there were three successive evening pairs of dinners simultaneously at Chequers and Dorneywood, with about a third of the members at each.

In 1965, India and Pakistan were on the point of war over the Rann of Kutch boundary dispute, and firing had begun in Kashmir. Mr Shastri was at Chequers and President Ayub Khan at Dorneywood. I was told that Mr Shastri, the Commonwealth Secretary, and on the President, each move being passed on through our private secretaries.

The next night the President was at Chequers. Mr Shastri at Dorneywood and the process continued as we cruised the maps of the muddy swamp. Eventually our guests had moved sufficiently for them to consult their governments: we agreed to ask the Queen's permission to meet in room she set aside at the dinner she gave to heads of government at Buckingham Palace, where the agreement was ratified.

In all the above, I have referred to Britain. Traditionally, we sit at the Commonwealth Conferences as the United Kingdom. I told the Foreign and Commonwealth Office I wanted to have the card "Britain" in front of me but at first they resisted it. When I pointed out the precedents from Mr Duncan Sandys's time had always insisted on this, and second that I did not choose to sit next to Uganda and be photographed and filmed next to General Amin (in fact he did not turn up) the point was taken, and the British representatives were formally seated between Botswana and Canada.

As in short a period as 15 years, Commonwealth conferences and intra-Commonwealth consultations have changed almost out of all recognition.

One thing has not changed. The Queen is Head of the Commonwealth, sovereign of many of the older and a number of the new states and is acknowledged by all others as head of this historic association. There is every reason to know that few things occasion her more pleasure and dedication. Whether in London or far away, her hospitality at the Palace or as in Jamaica, on board Britannia is one of the highlights of the conference.

Her loyalty, and equally her independence as between individual countries, are legendary. Perhaps, had her silver jubilee occurred not in 1977, but at a time when there was fear of a surrender or weakening of Britain's links with the Commonwealth because of entry into EEC, it would not have been the unity of the United Kingdom, but the safeguarding of the Commonwealth which would have dominated the reports of the royal speech in Westminster Hall.

Mr Trudeau introduced the theme for exchanges on techniques of government. How we are all to be better controlled and taxed and oppressed by bureaucrats in fact but governments still very enormously in efficiency and sensitivity to say nothing of democracy.

It is anyone's guess if there is more justice and democracy in the Commonwealth patchwork of states in 1977 than in 1973. In 1975, Mr Manley and Sir Harold were working on a blueprint for a new economic order and this year they will report on it; but the fact that Mr Callaghan last month was hosting the leaders of the major industrial nations in their recurrent efforts to end economic stagnation suggests that the old order prevails.

This year, indeed, the major theme is again the claims of the have-nots. It will not be the only one. Britain will report on Rhodesia again, and whereas in 1975 the leaders were worrying about respect for Cuba's territorial integrity, they are now worrying about Cuba's military expansion into Africa (if it stops there). They are still "promoting" a solution in Cyprus.

A new theme may be the politicization of sport—the recalcitrance of Mr Muldoon in his refusal to prohibit by

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A new theme may be the politicization of sport—the recalcitrance of Mr Muldoon in his refusal to prohibit by

law New Zealand's sporting community from contests in South Africa. In fact, the controversy that goes deeper than is realized, it goes to the heart of the division in the Commonwealth between the British and the rest, the issue of individual liberty and the status of the Commonwealth to use two strong words, that most Commonwealth countries sedulously practice and even proselytize.

In a year in which President Carter has made human rights a basis of American foreign policy, the Commonwealth cannot ignore them after events in Uganda. Mr Ramphal, in his report to the heads of government, delicately notes that while non-interference is the rule, gross violations cease to be essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a state when they give rise to humanitarian issues of such magnitude that the international community must grapple with them. There will be times in the affairs of the Commonwealth when one member's conduct will provoke the wrath of others beyond the limits of silence. This year is the time; Amin's is the conduct.

But the big issue, after all, is aid. Increasingly the governments of the poorer countries demand the transfer of income and real resources to them from the richer ones. They want mechanisms

to tilt and hold the of trade in their favor. They want steeply progressive taxes applied inside the rich regimes of Britain, Australia, applied as states outside. What frankly implies is the average of the people in the countries should be 1 to raise that in the countries; much as it soaks the rich under p of democracy in rich states. So far, the countries have got nowhere with this. They should spell it London and see it sets them with the T. The trouble is the definitions of rich and poor at the time, which are now among the are some of the Nig to be the happy cul of coffee; so are the list some other jacks. Meanwhile, wealth activities themselves, mainly rich—for the officials, experts, pr and consultants who round and tell other what to do. This, taking a useful way, small states can, big states. The C wealth is a network relationships, and it them to be "cost-eff A meeting in 1979 is or Dar es Salaam is cards.

Fund of good intentions

by A. M. Rendel

In the early 1960s it seemed possible that the strong, swift current of decolonization might sweep the Commonwealth out of all existence. But it was also then well established that Commonwealth countries already shared certain traditions, techniques and attitudes, in government, law, education and many other walks of life, and most important a common working language. The network of links which had formed between them was held to be of real value for all, particularly for the developing countries.

The heads of government, at their meeting in 1965 in London decided to set up the Commonwealth Secretariat to be an instrument of all Commonwealth members collectively. It was intended to organize meetings both between the heads of government and between an increasing number of specialist ministers, law and education, for instance. There are now some 50 meetings a year. The secretariat was to act as the main agency for multilateral communication and for the passing of information, recently, for instance, on the smags likely to be encountered in legislating on rent control or compulsory voting. It was also to encourage activity in new functional areas as the need arose, for instance, the remedying of loss of food supplies through bad storing.

The Commonwealth, like some mangrove tree which had lost one or two massive limbs, being no longer a political or defence unit, has wholly belied the prophets of its imminent demise by producing a vigorous and encouraging growth point. There is obviously an enormous demand for technical skill in the developing countries and it was early discovered that there were many special needs which could not be covered by the United Nations or other aid programmes. Accordingly the heads of government set up the conference in Singapore in 1971 the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation (CFTC), financed by all Commonwealth countries and managed by an assistant secretary-general of the Commonwealth Secretariat. Its governing body includes representatives from all the contributors.

There are three main CFTC programmes, general technical assistance, education and training, and export market development. Some idea of the keenness of Commonwealth countries to obtain CFTC assistance can be seen in that while it began with a budget of a diminutive scale (£400,000 for the first year) and with the willing support of Commonwealth governments, it has grown twentyfold to about £8m.

Officials in the secretariat are exceedingly confident that the CFTC will continue to expand for years to come. There are requests for about twice the number of experts who can be sent into the field on the present budget. Broadly CFTC aid given falls into three categories. First the giving of information and advice, for instance, to a small territory on its contact with a multinational mining company. Second, the dispatch of experts to meet specific shortages, for instance, the appointment of judges or law officers when adequately experienced candidates were not available locally. Third, the training of local people to carry on work begun by an overseas expert, for instance, legal draftsmen, whom in some newly inde-

pendent territories there none. At present emphasis laid on schemes for production, management, public and private, often through workshop courses for people. The aims are: lesser centralization in London, to use existing facilities in developing countries, and to region many activities in the Pacific or Africa. Lessons for students through shock of transport to a highly industrialized country, is far ch and helps avoid the of brain-drain.

One of the dangers clearly foreseen in the 1960s was that the many which had grown up be members of the proto throughout the Commonwealth might be lost. It was to preserve the formal network of personal cooperation the Commonwealth Found was set up, at the L conference in July, with a board of trustees drawn from each of contributing members. Its aim is to enable professional men and women continue and to in their interchanges. The to which originally 21 monwealth governments subscribed £250,000, has grown to some £800,000 36 governments. Thro more than 2,000 p sional men and women been helped to travel their countries or visits or to attend p sional meetings.

The foundation meet cost of fares and contr to the cost of some o conferences and to the lines associations in newly pendent member cou or of a regional basi has thus helped and e raged the formation of clations of veterina lawyers, engineers, g raphers, pharmacists, r trates, nurses, libraria museum curators. F the foundation was se there existed Commov associations of doctor, texts and engineers these the foundation also supported.

The foundation's ter reference enable it al consider exceptional ret from members of far sions. This enables the foundation's purpos be able to handle unfor needs in the exchange formation or visits.

Overseas visits by fo tion staff soon revealed lessening, a desperate i some developing countri properly trained medic oratory technologists. out sub-professional at the task of overworki tors was increasingly i sible. In 1972 the fi tion, after discussions the British Institute of cal Laboratory Sci offered a general aw £10,000, to stimulate Commonwealth coope

Sir Hugh Springer, o bados, who became ch of the Commonwealth dation in 1974, wrote final report in Nov 1976, that he was handi to his successor "a sme increasingly successful able. In 1972 the fi tion, after discussions the British Institute of cal Laboratory Sci offered a general aw £10,000, to stimulate Commonwealth coope

"Hundreds more me women, at mid-career, many at sub-profes level, have been through travel with Commonwealth, to in their skills and obtai experience at stages", Sir Hugh wr

Now is the time to break silence

continued from preceding page

still value the quality that in potential inhere in their Commonwealth or peat status. So, whatever is said for public consumption it may be assumed that the Commonwealth personages are glad to be in London this summer. And, whatever role Britain has lost, it remains a vast change for international gossip and wheedling-dealing at every level. Whether a chief executive is secure in office for life, or about to be booted out by his electorate, there is nothing he craves so much as accurate and relevant information. London—not just the press—is a major source of this commodity.

So there is much more to a heads of government meeting than the set agenda. When this is dominated by one theme (as it was once by Rhodesia) the private talks are overwhelmingly important; and important decisions are often taken (as with the Commonwealth fund in 1971) in a few minutes as opposed to hours of redomontade.

Such initiatives as the meetin, generate in fact rarely turn the world upside down. In 1972 there was the row with Mr Heath over helicopters for South Africa—overwhelmed in the surge of events in Africa. In 1973,

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Fund of go intention

Plight of the world's poor worse not better

elwyn Westlake

badly, the explosive of world poverty will be the forthcoming of Commonwealth of government at Lancaster House, as it did their meeting in April-May 1976, Kingston, Jamaica, the two intervening years the plight of the poor southern has, if anything, ed. They have suffered further large balance deficits and a still heavier debt. The celebrated

Kingston commodity initiative of the former Prime Minister, Sir Harold Wilson, has not borne fruit. The political wrangling continues over whether the international markets for primary products should be more closely regulated, while the face of millions of poor commodity producers hangs on the success of the latest crop, and price movements in the rich, industrialized, countries to the north. It was the issue of commodity trading which caused the most acerbic exchanges between the Commonwealth rich and poor nations at Kingston. The division was between those leaders like Sir Harold who believed that only modest reforms were

needed to provide the developing countries with a better trade deal, and some of the Caribbean government heads who wanted nothing less than a total recasting of the international economy. Their goal was a "new international economic order". In an attempt to solve those differences, the Commonwealth leaders set up an Experts Group of 10 eminent people from the industrialized and developing countries to study the issues of poverty and draw up "in the context of the current international dialogue, a comprehensive and inter-related programme of practical measures directed at closing the gap between the rich and poor countries". It is the Expert Group's re-

port that will form the centre of much of the discussion at Lancaster House. Its recommendations are far-reaching. An "unprecedented international effort" is required, the report says, if there is to be any closing of the income gap between the rich north and poor south of the globe. To underscore their point, the experts observe that of the 4,000 million people of the world, half have an annual average income of less than \$200 a head (if the People's Republic of China is included). At the other extreme, a minority of about 600 million live in states where the average income per head ranges from \$2,000 to \$5,000 a year. As the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat,

Mr Shridath Ramphal, a former Minister for Foreign Affairs and Justice in Guyana, has said, the "Commonwealth cannot be neutral or inactive on this great issue of our time". The Commonwealth has among its members some of the world's richest nations. But it also includes 44 per cent of the population of the developing world—and (excluding the socialist countries) 88 per cent of Earth's poorest people, those living on less than \$200 a year.

Therefore the quarter of the globe's population who live in the 35 countries of the Commonwealth are much more than simply a cross-section of humanity, in spite of their geographical dispersion across six continents and five oceans. The issues of poverty may not be facing the Commonwealth alone, but it is here that they link up with a special intensity. It was in recognition of that fact that the eradication of world poverty came to form a key part of the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles unanimously approved on January 22 1971 by the heads of Commonwealth governments at their meeting in Singapore. The declaration stated emphatically that "the wide disparities in wealth now existing between different sections of mankind are too great to be tolerated. They also create world tensions. Our aim is their progressive removal. We therefore seek to use our efforts to overcome poverty, ignorance and disease, in raising standards of life and achieving a more equitable international society". The declaration then adds: "To this end our aim is to achieve the freest possible flow of international trade on terms fair and equitable to all, taking into account the special requirements of the developing countries, and to encourage the flow of adequate resources, includ-

ing governmental and private resources, to the developing countries, bearing in mind the importance of doing this in a true spirit of partnership and of establishing for this purpose in the developing countries conditions which are conducive to sustained investment and growth." No leader from a developing Commonwealth country can have this part of the declaration far from his mind when the latest two-yearly conference begins today. The leaders can almost certainly be expected to press the four richest members—Britain, Australia, Canada and New Zealand—to commit themselves more energetically to the crusade for a new international economic order, which received such strong impetus at the 1975 Kingston conference. This cause has received strong support from the Expert Group in its final report (it has made two interim reports), concluded just in time for consideration at Lancaster House. If accepted unreservedly by Commonwealth leaders, the report is bound to have considerable political influence. To begin with, it comes out firmly behind Third World demands for a so-called common fund to regulate commodity prices on world markets. This is one of the central demands of the developing countries in their bid to overturn the international economic order. After considerable resistance from several of the rich industrialized nations, notably West Germany, the United States, and to a lesser extent Britain, broad agreement has been reached on the principle of setting up a common fund, although the rich world's conception of the fund's role remains very different to the original proposal advanced by the poor nations. However, like the Third World states, the Experts' Group (known as the Ten

New role for IMF proposed

The report of the Experts' Group—called *Towards a New International Economic Order*—additionally calls for long-run reform of the international monetary system, including the conversion of the International Monetary Fund into a world central bank, and greater participation of the developing countries in the control and management of the IMF and other international agencies. The report also sees an urgent need for the rich northern nations to reduce import restrictions on Third World products; suggests more research into the problems of the developing countries; recommends that the rich states provide more appropriate technology, waive Third World debts and, of course, step up their aid. The Experts' Group, whose chairman, Mr Alister McIntyre, is secretary-general of the Caribbean Com-

Trade turns into new channels

roline Atkinson

quarters of New Zealand's cheese production will be phased out, and the butter quotas which ensure a New Zealand share of the United Kingdom market are to end in 1980. The developing Asian Commonwealth nations such as India and Sri Lanka do not have the protection of the Lomé Convention. But nor do they have the wealth and flexibility in their economies of the developed Commonwealth countries. The system of generalized preferences (GSP) first taken up by the EEC (where developing countries face lower duties for specific amounts of particular products) has been angled by Britain in the EEC towards helping those Asian countries. To some extent, however, Britain's accession has merely hastened a process of change which was under way. Total intra-Commonwealth trade was falling even before 1973. Whereas the Commonwealth countries in aggregate provided each other with markets for 23 per cent of their exports in 1969, that had shrunk to 20 per cent in 1973. That was the last year for which such figures were especially collected. The focus now is on individual commodities and their particular markets. The distinction between Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth countries has been blurred, as that between rich and poor has sharpened. The shift of emphasis within the developing, commodity-producing Commonwealth is on producer-cooperation and joint development. British trade statistics will have a classification for "Commonwealth", and they show the declining share of the Commonwealth in total British trade. The figures are slightly distorted by the dramatic effect of increasing oil imports, but the trend is clear. From 24 per cent of British imports in 1970, the Commonwealth share fell to 17 per cent in 1973 and less than 13 per cent last year. Given more significant for the other Commonwealth countries has been the drop in their traditional trade surplus with Britain. That has halved in the past two years.

The oil price rise of 1973 helped to precipitate the new awareness of the developing world. It also affected the position of the Commonwealth nations. Most suffered a severe setback in their capacity to import, or to pay for their imports. The development of export markets to relieve the balance of payments constraints on development has thus become even more important. (Nigeria, as the sole Opec member in the Commonwealth, has of course benefited from the jump in oil revenues.) The oil price rise of 1973 helped to precipitate the new awareness of the developing world. It also affected the position of the Commonwealth nations. Most suffered a severe setback in their capacity to import, or to pay for their imports. The development of export markets to relieve the balance of payments constraints on development has thus become even more important. (Nigeria, as the sole Opec member in the Commonwealth, has of course benefited from the jump in oil revenues.)

Exports to Japan grow rapidly

Japan has provided one of the fastest growing export markets for Commonwealth countries diversifying from Britain. Much of Australia's success in reorienting its export trade has been because of the rapid expansion of Japanese imports. Britain bought 4 per cent of Australia's exports in 1973, compared with 17 per cent 10 years earlier. Japan's share grew from 17 per cent to 32 per cent. Singapore and Malaysia are also expanding their imports. Commonwealth links with Opec countries have increased however, as the Indian provision of iron ore to the Gulf and Jamaica's cooperation with Mexico and Venezuela on aluminium smelting from Jamaica's bauxite show. The communist countries now take a bigger proportion of Commonwealth trade, such as the growing exports of Asian tea to the Soviet Union and increased cocoa trade. Import volumes of Comecon countries are volatile, however, and the development of those markets difficult. Geography has tended to loosen the trade ties of the Commonwealth. Regionalism as a path for development has been favoured by some countries. The regional groupings in some cases consist of only Commonwealth countries, as in the Caribbean, and in others include non-Commonwealth nations, as in the West African economic community. The aim of these regional trading blocks has usually been to provide a market for the manufactures on which many developing countries pin their hopes for growth. Both the difficulties and costs of such protection of the industrialized sector are often high, especially in the short term. However, it is extremely difficult for the developing countries to break into the established markets for manufactures. Critics have pointed out that these countries whose

Trade in basic foodstuffs, such as cereals, is a world and not a Commonwealth matter. But the voice of the developing Commonwealth is important in the debate over the world's chronic food shortages, and two of the developed countries, Canada and Australia, are important world suppliers of grain, providing about 16 per cent of total world cereals exports last year. Britain's entry into the EEC has affected rice producers in the Commonwealth; Italy has replaced Australia as the main supplier to the United Kingdom. Other cereals have been little affected. Recent good harvests have helped to ease the world food situation, and India, for example, is thinking of exporting grain this year. Where countries are getting their grain supplies from the world market, and not from concessionary sources, geography and price are more important than the Commonwealth. Sri Lanka, for example, imports its rice from Thailand, Burma and China. Sugar exports from the Commonwealth producers in the West Indies, India, Australia and Africa have been growing steadily since 1972 and are taking an increased share of the world sugar market despite some production difficulties in the Caribbean and India. The market has been changed radically by British entry into the EEC. In place of the old Commonwealth sugar agreement there is the sugar protocol to the Lomé Convention, which guarantees entry into the EEC of 1,300,000 tonnes of sugar a year on a country quota basis. As this was negotiated during the sugar shortage it is favourable to the ACP producers, who are mainly in the Commonwealth. The deliberate EEC expansion of sugar beet production has led to increasing European reluctance to pay good prices or to provide the guaranteed market for cane producers. Britain is still a net sugar importer and relies on its old Commonwealth suppliers, but the average in the United Kingdom is increasing.

Commonwealth trade in food and animals* ('000 US\$) 1971-1974 Average

Australia	2,189,421
Canada	1,055,388
New Zealand	878,400
United Kingdom	4,364,507
Scotland	10,501
The Gambia	2,578
Ghana	285,687
Kenya	152,136
Lesotho	22,920
Malawi	19,884
Nigeria	30,942
Seychelles	n.a.
Sierra Leone	22,933
Swaziland	45,186
Tanzania	76,151
Uganda	184,187
Zambia	172,236
Bangladesh	182,452
India	194,319
Malaysia	257,627
Sri Lanka	28,792
Malta	53,178
Cyprus	10,384
Singapore	307,967
Bahamas	57,158
Barbados	10,183
Grenada	1,730
Guyana	62,158
Jamaica	42,761
Trinidad and Tobago	28,901
Fiji	17,328
Mauritius	99,819
Nauru	2,894
Papua New Guinea	3,488
Tonga	1,704
West Samoa	1,853

* Indicates a trade surplus, — a trade deficit. n.a. not available.

Source: FAO Trade Yearbook.

* Includes live animals, meat, dairy products, eggs, fish, cereals, fruit, vegetables, sugar, honey, coffee, tea, cocoa, spices, animal feeding stuffs, edible fats and food preparations.

From shoelaces to a complete communication system, no request for our services is too large or too small. In Brunei, for example, we were asked to build and staff a complete colour television system capable of transmitting four hours of programmes each evening plus two hours of school programmes each morning. The whole project took just nine months to complete and this is believed to be a world record for an installation of this kind where no facilities had existed previously. At the request of the Nigerian Ports Authority, we assisted in the ports decongestion operation. £12,000,000 of equipment and materials were bought, inspected and shipped into the area: these included fork-lift trucks, cranes, barges, tugs, shackles, pontoons, freight-lifters, trailers and container holders. An incredible load of equipment.

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In Jordan, we are working on two pipeline projects as part of a massive scheme to improve the country's water supplies. 48 kilometres of new pipeline will bring water to Irbid, and a feasibility study has been prepared for more pipelines, pumping stations and Jordan's first surface water treatment project. Design studies were made in 1976 for 65 kilometres of new pipeline to Aqaba.

We were asked by the Nigerian Railway Corporation to handle the procurement of new rolling stock and evaluate the tenders that came in from all over the world.

An order for 20 shunting locomotives has been placed; contracts have been signed for the supply of 55 main-line locomotives, 150 passenger coaches, 12 powercars and 450 hopper wagons. The award of contracts for 190 covered wagons, 100 cattle wagons, 10 pig wagons and 32 brakevans are under consideration. The total value of this new rolling stock is £75 million.

We have just completed the building of 170 kilometres of roads in Welo Province in Ethiopia.

It was an experimental task in that the brief was to build as many kilometres as possible in as varying a terrain as possible. We compared two methods of road construction, labour intensive as against intermediate technology and reported our findings. We have now completed a study of rural roads throughout Ethiopia.

With £17 million allocated to the task, we are building roads for an average cost of £5,000 a kilometre.

Based on the results of these experiments, the British Government, along with the World Bank and other donor agencies, will be financing many other roads in Ethiopia.

But you might think that, as more and more nations become self-supporting, demands on our services would be lessening. However, the reverse is the case.


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"commonwealth (-wel-), n. Independent State or community; republic or democratic State (lit., or fig.: *commonwealth of learning*); (C-) republican government in England, 1649-60; (C-) title of federated Australian States;"

The Concise Oxford Dictionary

On this page and the next, Derek Ingram traces the recent evolution of the word, looks back at past summits, assesses the community of nations' leadership and examines the role of its professional organizations

Exercise in world summitry

The last time Commonwealth leaders met in London, eight years ago, one of the high lights of the conference was a speech by President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania on Rhodesia. Even those who did not agree with all he said were captivated by his fluency and sincerity.

When the presidents and prime ministers trooped out of the room one of them remarked: "What a pity it could not have been televised." But then he added: "Of course, if it had been televised it would not have been the same speech."

The remark identifies the ingredients that make Commonwealth summitry valuable to those who take part in them: their limited secrecy and their informality.

Calling as it is to us journalists, you cannot have real informality without the secrecy; it has to be that way. If these meetings are to continue to have value, informality has always been vital, and though it has sometimes been seriously at risk, this is the thread that runs through the entire history of these meetings, and it is, when you come to think about it, quite a history.

The 35 leaders sitting round the table at Lancaster House this morning are taking part in the latest gathering of what must surely be the longest continuous exercise in the history of world summitry. This is the twenty-first meeting of the modern series, generally accepted as dating to 1944—an average of one meeting every 18 months—and the pedigree goes much farther back than that.

The first Commonwealth summit of all was 90 years

ago almost to the day—at the time of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. It was called a colonial conference, though the leaders present—of Canada, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa—represented countries that by that time already enjoyed considerable autonomy.

Colonial conferences gave way to imperial conferences in 1911—there were five of such—and these in turn gave way, after 1937, to prime ministers' meetings. The first of the modern meetings, held just before Day, was a cosy all-white affair at 10 Downing Street presided over by Churchill and largely concerned with the prosecution of the war and how to secure the peace afterwards. Just five leaders attended (Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa), with representatives of India and Rhodesia allowed to attend for some sessions.

Moving forward 33 years to Lancaster House today produces a contrast that seems to bear no comparison. But a large degree of easy informality remains. Many of today's Commonwealth leaders know each other rather well—just as did the old leaders like Churchill, Smuts and Menzies. Some of them—such as Mr Lee Kuan Yew and Presidents Kaunda, Nyerere and Makarios—have attended more than half a dozen meetings.

For Mr Trudeau this is his fifth summit. He has struck up a particularly close relationship with Mr Lee and Presidents Nyerere and Kaunda as a result of these meetings. At Singapore in 1971 this trend to United Nations practices, together with the bitter debate on the British intention to sell arms to South Africa, came near to bringing the meetings—and the Commonwealth—to an end.

What was encouraging was that those present, recognizing the danger, not only wanted to reverse the trend but made sure something was done about it. A new formula was worked out and in Ottawa in 1973 Mr Trudeau presided over a conference that was very different. Now only two officials from each head of government and texts and press conferences were reduced to a minimum. Also, provision was made for restricted sessions, at which the leaders

could sit alone, with only the Secretary-General present, no record taken and no unauthorized statement made to the press afterwards.

This ensured the kind of discussion that took place in Ottawa and Kingston when presidents and prime ministers exchanged views on how they actually ran their governments; how, for example, civil servants could be kept effective, at the same time not reducing ministers to rubber stamps.

These discussions on the inner workings of governments, about which we shall learn little, except perhaps as a result of inadequate snippets from political memoirs, must have been fascinating historical rarity. Being a head of government can be lonely, and here was a rare chance for leaders to chat with equals about domestic problems in a way that is impossible elsewhere or in any other forum.

It is these and other such items that draw the leaders to Commonwealth conferences and it is these opportunities for private discussion that Dr Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, is known to envy. If only, he has been heard to remark, the United Nations could sometimes operate in this way, away from the public gaze.

But all this is not what makes headlines. Visible achievements and quick solutions to problems are what observers are always on the lookout for and when they are lacking Commonwealth heads of government meetings are too often said to have little value. Those who actually attend know otherwise.

In terms of impact on world affairs, then, have Commonwealth conferences made much of a mark? There have been one or two spectacular failures: one was the abortive Vietnam peace mission proposed by Mr Wilson in 1965.

Commonwealth meetings are really about influencing each other and changes of attitude emerge slowly as a result of them. There is no doubt that the Singapore conference of 1971 stopped the Heath Government embarking on the restoration of arms sales to South Africa. Mr Heath would claim that the Singapore experience forced the developing countries to accept that Britain had as much right to take independent action as any other country.

Singapore was perhaps a turning point not only for the Commonwealth as an institution but also for relations between developed and developing countries. In international affairs since that time African states have adopted tactics that differ from those early days of posturing, boycott and walkout. Each side tends to understand the other better and the experience has made everyone a little wiser.

In the 1960s Commonwealth summits were very much preoccupied with the conversion to Commonwealth of the number of Commonwealth countries rose from 11 to 31. Matters like the departure of South Africa and then the tensions of Rhodesia, coupled with the expansion of the conference, meant that whereas in the

What's in a name?

"Commonwealth" is a recurring term Imperial War Conference and he, says, through the ages. Dryden used it in the *Life of Theseus* in his translation of Plutarch's *Lives* (1683-86). In 1884 Lord Rosebery remarked in Australia that "the Empire is a commonwealth of nations". In the 1880s, John X. Merriman, Prime Minister of Cape Colony, began referring to "the British Commonwealth". He was the first to use the phrase in an imperial conference—in 1909 at the Imperial Defence Conference. After 1914 the term was used repeatedly in the Round Table (the quarterly founded in 1910 which, to this day, is a journal of Commonwealth affairs), although it was mainly in relation to ideas of imperial federation.

Opening the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917, Lloyd George said the war had changed the Empire into "a great and effective democratic Commonwealth of nations". Smuts launched the name "British Commonwealth" four weeks later in the

Commonwealth historian, Mr H. Dunn Hall, was the political architect of name. The phrase appeared in a forerunner of the Imperial Conference 1918, and the 1921 Irish Treaty was the first formal document to refer to "a group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations".

Between the wars the term Commonwealth was usually used to describe the parts of the Empire that were autonomous. Churchill favoured "British Commonwealth and Empire". With independence most peoples of the Empire were now citizens of Commonwealth member-countries. In 1948 Nehru spoke of the "Commonwealth that used to be called the British Commonwealth of Nations" and from that time on the simple term "the Commonwealth" began to be accepted—although even today people persist in referring erroneously to "the British Commonwealth".

When, where and how

1944: Pledged determination to win war and agreed world organization be set up afterwards to maintain peace and security.

1946: Discussed problems of postwar settlements, reviewed draft peace treaties, reaffirmed full support for the United Nations.

1948: First meeting after independence of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Reviewed economic and defence matters, agreed to extend consultation between governments.

1949: Special meeting to discuss India's decision to become republic and stay in Commonwealth. George VI accepted as Head of Commonwealth.

1951: Japan peace settlement. Middle East and British and Canadian NATO obligations on agenda. Issued declaration affirming determination to resist aggression.

1953: Expressed hope for setting up European Defence Community, discussed Far East stability after Korea armistice, recognised international importance of Suez Canal.

1955: Talked about problems of nuclear energy, declared intention to work for comprehensive disarmament agreement.

1956: Discussed better relations with Russia, Cyprus solution, improving living standards and peaceful nuclear energy uses. Agreed Rhodesia should continue to attend.

1957: Ghana, first African colony to become independent, attended. Discussed Hungary, Suez, economic development and proposals for industrial free trade area in Europe.

1960: Discussed economic development of poorer countries and planned co-operative action. South Africa said it would become republic. Conference emphasized Commonwealth was multiracial.

1961: Call for ban on all nuclear testing. New proposals for disarmament. Supported United Nations efforts in Congo. After attacks on its racial policies, South Africa withdrew from Commonwealth.

1962: Most of meeting devoted to safeguards for trade of other Commonwealth countries if Britain joined EEC. Britain promises full consultation.

1964: Serious divisions over Rhodesia. But several schemes for closer Commonwealth cooperation worked out; and agreement to set up Commonwealth Secretariat and Commonwealth Foundation.

1965: Peace mission to Vietnam set up. Britain

heavily pressed to end African rule in Rhodesia. Economic development examined, memoranda on working of Secretariat worked out.

1966 (Jan): In Lagos first meeting outside London. Devoted solely to Rhodesia following Commonwealth scheme training Rhodesian officers agreed. Sanctions committee set up.

1966 (Sept): Stormy session on Rhodesia. Britain pledged to stick to Principles. On 1 September said it would Commonwealth count maximum information.

1969: Rhodesia's main topic, but conference also agreed measure ease brain drain from developing countries, aid scheme and regional studies of problems of young people.

1971: British proposed sell arms to South Africa brings Commonwealth point of disintegration. Night session without press produces face-to-face formula.

1973: New look conference with streamlined procedures. Turned attention to economic matters, statement on nuclear testing ban. Set up youth programme.

1975: New international economic order is topic. Study group set up. Help pledged for Miquel when it closes desian border to the sanctions.

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New Zealand produced a comet in Mr Norman Kirk, whose impact on the Ottawa meeting is still talked about. He established a rapport with the Third World leaders as a New Zealander had been to him. All was cut short by his early death, and this year the death of the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Muldoon, attending his first summit, repeating the performance, seems remote. His intrusive attitude to the Commonwealth Games has seriously worried several Commonwealth leaders, notably

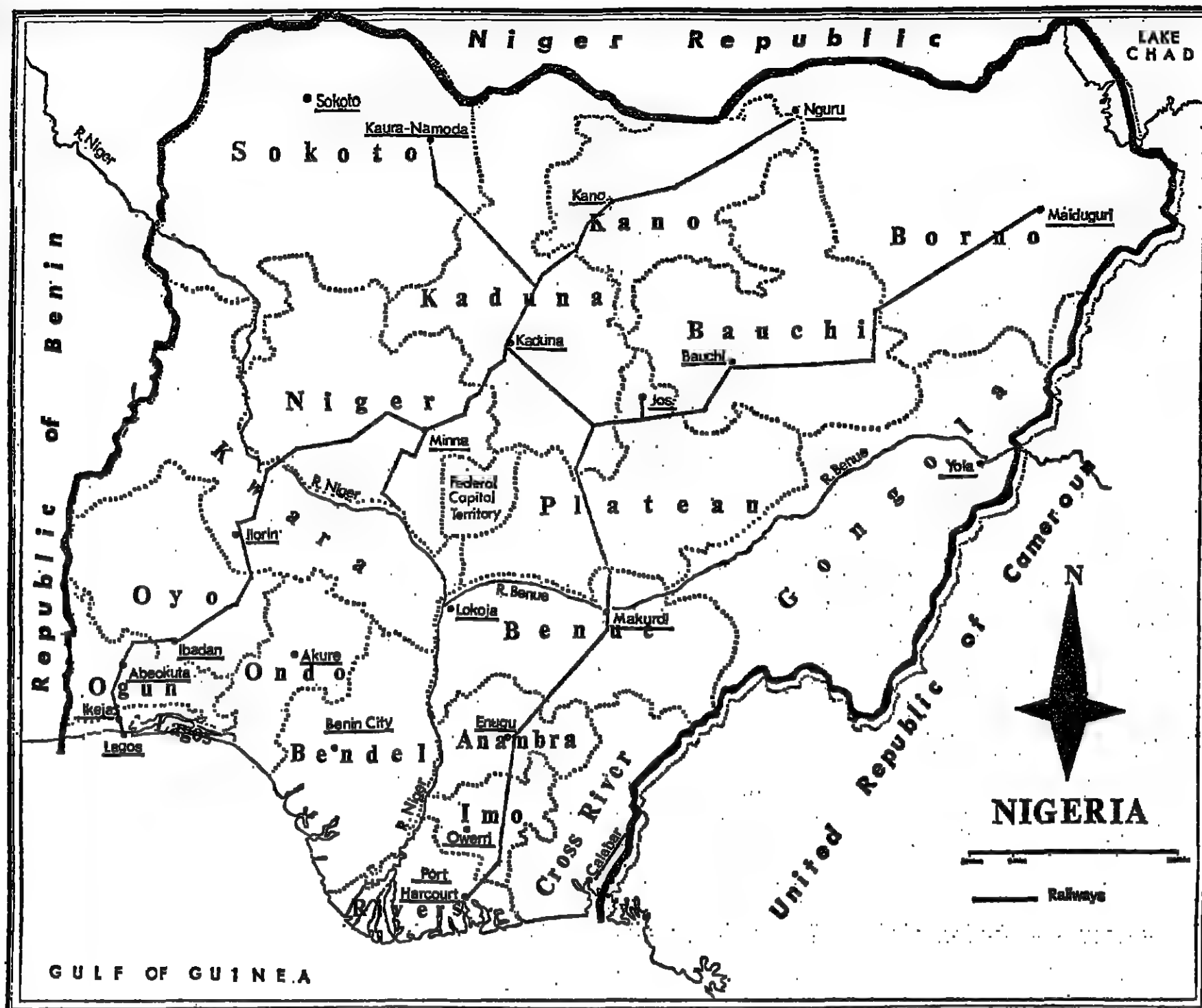
A high-contrast, black and white image showing a dense, textured surface, possibly a wall or a large piece of fabric, with a vertical line running down the right side. The texture is grainy and uneven, with many small dark spots and larger lighter areas. The vertical line on the right is slightly irregular and runs from the top to the bottom of the frame.

Ministry of Information and Broadcasting,
Port Louis



FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

A NEW ORDER



With the change of leadership on July 29, 1975, Nigeria's ship of state regained its rudders with a challenge for skipper and crew alike. A new order in the organisation of national affairs had emerged.

Since that historic date, multi-pronged social, economic and political actions have either been taken or have been initiated. The actions vividly portray a determination to build a better nation of a happier people. The actions underline a silent crusade to engineer a complete re-orientation of the Nigerian society, so that Nigerians can live a more meaningful life under a free and open society, where all are equal under the law and where none will be in need in the midst of plenty and, above all, where Nigerians will learn to accord a healthy respect to discipline, dignity of labour, honesty and probity in public life.



CLEANSING OPERATION

Because it became clear that traditional checks had slackened, and in some cases were completely absent, and because the general level and efficiency of the services had progressively deteriorated, corrective measures were taken to arrest the situation. Several officers of all grades in the Public Services and the Armed Forces were removed from office. Officers found wanting in efficiency or probity were retired with full benefits while officers involved in cases of misconduct were summarily dismissed as a disciplinary measure. The objective was to set the stage for healthier and more efficient services.

These purges were not considered as reforms in themselves; permanent reform measures have been and are being introduced in order to consolidate and maintain efficiency and discipline. A first step in this direction was the establishment of a "Public Complaints Commission" by the F.M.G. to which members of the Public can lodge complaints against public officers. This was followed up with a Decree to stamp out corruption in all its hideous ramifications backed up by the instruction of a "Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau" under the control of a Director, who is empowered to examine bank accounts of public officials charged under the Decree. He can also examine bank accounts of wives, children, trustees and relatives of such officials. Any offence committed under this Decree by a Nigerian outside the country is deemed to have been committed in Nigeria. Trial of persons so charged is by a Special Tribunal headed by a High Court Judge. Any person

convicted by the tribunal can appeal to the Federal Court of Appeal within 30 days, and subsequently to the Supreme Court.

In barely two years of coming to office, this Administration has instituted investigations and enquiries into the assets of certain categories of public officers who have been removed from office throughout the federation. The follow-up exercise to recover confiscated property illegally acquired is now in progress. A cognate and vexed issue which threatened national harmony, that of abandoned property in parts of the federation, has now been disposed of, with the FMG paying accumulated compensation to aggrieved property owners who have been unable to resume ownership.



NIGERIAN PORTS AND CONGESTION

To a very large extent, the survival and prosperity or collapse of the Nigerian economy depended in mid-1975 on the situation at Nigerian ports, where congestion had reached crisis dimensions, giving rise to unprecedented inflation.

The largest single cause of the situation was an unprecedented volume of cement imports. While the massive cement imports were being probed, short- and long-term measures were taken for resolving the problem within a reasonably short period.

As a result of the crash programme launched, the discharge rate of cement which stood at 2,000 tons a day at the end of July 1975 increased to 14,000 tons a day, initially, till the figure reached 24,000 tons a day. The Nigerian ports have now been completely decongested. The Lagos Port Complex in particular which witnessed heavy congestion with more than 200 ships awaiting berth at the peak of the crisis now has fewer than 50 vessels awaiting berth at any time—a normal situation at any major international port.

Under the on-going ports development programme, the Apapa (Lagos) and other ports like Port Harcourt, Calabar, Warri etc., will almost double their handling capacities thereby permanently removing the risk of congestion.



INFLATION

An eleven-man "Anti-Inflation Task Force" was inaugurated soon after the Mohammed/Obasanjo administration took office to examine inflationary tendencies in the economy and recommend short and long term policies and measures to contain the situation so that all sectors of the population can enjoy a fuller and happier life. Direct emergency measures like the provision of N63m for bulk purchase of high-price imported and locally produced food items were taken, but much of the kind of responsibility is now being undertaken by the Nigerian National Supply Company as a statutory service while consumer cooperatives are officially being sponsored in all the States to serve as outlets for distribution.

At the same time a national campaign has been mounted to revitalize our agriculture under the slogan "Operation Feed the Nation" (OFN) which may turn out to put a more lasting damper on imported inflation.

The Anti-Inflation Task Force made recommendations on monetary and Fiscal Policies, Price Control, National Supply and Distribution, Real Estate and Land, Food Production and Marketing.

The Panel wanted the Central Bank of Nigeria to revert to a system of imposing ceilings on total and sectoral increases in commercial bank credit to the private sector. As banks operate in different markets the Central Bank should set separate guidelines to reflect the difference and apply sanctions to banks that exceed the specified ceilings.

It also recommended that (a) a Price Intelligence Agency (PIA) should be established and located in the Federal Ministry of Co-operatives and Supplies, to perform some regulatory, research and monitoring functions with respect to price movements; (b) the Nigeria National Supply Company should be confined to the role of supplementing existing sources of supply and all sole agencies held by it should be abolished; (c) the Federal and State governments should construct co-operative shopping centres in urban and rural areas as a means of encouraging the activities of co-operative societies in the field of distribution; (d) a National Co-operative Bank should be established in the States should be encouraged to establish specialised financial institutions devoted to the financing of co-operative organisations.

On Rent, the Panel recommended that rents should be frozen for the next two years and advance payment of rent by new tenants for residential accommodation should cover a maximum period of three months at the expiration of which rents should be on a monthly basis. Tenants whose landlords refuse to accept the rent freeze should pay rents due at the end of each period to a government treasury. The Panel also recommended that import and excise duties on building materials and commercial vehicles and their spare parts should be reviewed, favour of further reduction or abolition.

On Food production and marketing, the Task Force recommended that the National Grains Production Company and the National Rice Production Company should be commercialised. Government should provide leadership in such commercialised large-scale agriculture through joint ventures under private and public management. The formation of food production companies in all the States of the Federation should follow this approach.

As is already evident, most of the long-term recommendations of the Task Force have been implemented in whole or modified form. An anti-inflation Rent Edict is now operating in nearly all the States, while Federal housing target has been stepped up from 60,000 to 200,000 units under the current plan to serve as a permanent solution to the rent problem. Banks for financing agriculture, industry and commerce have already made their impact on Nigerian enterprises while a Cooperative and Mortgage banks are in advanced stages of planning. All these have been designed as a direct attack on the major causes of inflation. Only recently a special economic review panel submitted its report on the reorganisation of the nation's financial system and its recommendations likely to have far-reaching and salutary effects on the nation's revenue and economy generally.



CREATION OF MORE STATES

Priority action was taken on the issue of the creation of more states. A panel of five, headed by a High Court Judge, reported on the issue in December, 1975, and government decided to create seven more states bringing the total number of states in the country to 19. These new states started to function on April 1, 1976. The new states are: Ogun, Osun, Bauchi, Gongola, Imo, Niger and Benue.

The former 12 states are: Oyo, Lagos, Bendel, Anambra, Rivers, Cross River, Kwara, Sokoto, Borno, Plateau, Kano, and Kaduna.



NATIONAL CAPITAL

Also appointed was an eight-man panel, headed by a High Court Judge to study the question of a new capital for the nation. For some time, Nigerians were puzzled whether Lagos should continue to serve

ADVERTISEMENT

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

A NEW ORDER



both as Federal Capital and seat of Lagos State Government. Among other things, the panel was requested to examine the dual role of Lagos and advise on the desirability or otherwise of Lagos retaining that role. Should Lagos be found unsuitable for its present role, the panel should recommend which of the two governments should move out to a new capital. The report of the Panel and recommendations were submitted in December 1975.

After considering the report of the Panel, the Government decided to move the Capital of the country from Lagos to Abuja. Abuja is about 394 kilometres from Lagos. It is located in the geometric centre of the country which virtually makes it equidistant from all corners of Nigeria. The movement to the new capital is to be phased within the next ten to fifteen years and a Federal Capital Development Authority has been established to accomplish this task. In the meantime, Lagos State has moved its capital to Ikeja.



POLITICAL PROGRAMME

One of the first actions of the Federal Military Government was to announce a five-stage political programme for the return to civil rule. The ultimate aim is to forge a viable political system which will be stable and responsive to the needs and realities of the country. This schedule is that the military will hand over the administration of the country to civilians on 1st October, 1979. In pursuance of this programme and to ensure a smooth transition to civil rule by elected representatives of the people, a 50-member Constitution Drafting Committee was appointed.

The Committee has already submitted a Draft Constitution to the Government, which has been subjected to critical public debate before its scheduled ratification by the Nation's Constituent Assembly in October this year.

The Draft Constitution proposes an Executive President for the country. It suggests a Senate and a Legislative House both of which will be styled the National Assembly as the medium of running the affairs of the Federal Government while the State Assemblies take charge of the States government.

The Draft Constitution gives the President the discretion to appoint his Ministers from outside the National Assembly provided he appoints a minister from each of the 19 states of the Federation. The draft constitution also states that if a member of a Legislative House is appointed as a Minister of Government of the Federation or a Commissioner of the Government of a State, he shall be deemed to have resigned his membership of such legislative House on his taking the oath of his office.

The President, acting in his discretion, may assign to the Vice-President or any Minister of the Government of the Federation responsibility for any business of the Government of the Federation including the administration of any department of Government.

The Draft Constitution embodies a code of conduct for government functionaries as well as the machineries for enforcing them.

The equivalent of the President at State Level will be the Governor; Vice-President—Deputy Governor; House of Representatives—House of Assembly; President of the Senate—Speaker of the House of Assembly; Act of the National Assembly—Law of the State Assembly.

The Draft Constitution also outlines the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of state policy.

Among the fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy are—

- the motto of the Republic shall be UNITY AND FAITH, PEACE AND PROGRESS and accordingly national integration shall be actively encouraged whilst discrimination on the grounds of place of origin, religion, sex, status, ethnic or linguistic association shall be prohibited.
- The Social order is founded on the ideals of Freedom, Equality and Justice.
- The Government shall endeavour to ensure that there are equal and adequate educational opportunities at all levels to the people within the area of its authority.
- The system of local government by democratically elected local government councils is guaranteed and accordingly the Government of every state shall ensure their existence under a law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such councils.
- The State shall promote African Unity, as well as the total political, economic, social and cultural liberation of Africa and people of African birth or descent throughout the world and all other forms of international co-operation of universal peace and mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and states and shall combat racial discrimination in all its manifestations.
- The state shall protect and enhance Nigerian culture in all its aspects.
- The state shall not adopt any religion as the state religion.
- The National Ethic shall be DISCIPLINE, SELF-RELIANCE and PATRIOTISM.
- The Press, Radio, Television and other agencies of the mass media shall, at all times, be free to uphold the Fundamental objectives contained in this Constitution and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people.
- The State shall direct its policy towards ensuring:
 - the promotion of a planned and balanced economic development;
 - that the material resources of the community are harnessed and distributed as best as possible to serve the common good;
 - that the economic system is not operated in such a manner as to permit the concentration of wealth or the means of production and exchange in the hands of a few individuals or a group; and

- suitable and adequate shelter, suitable and adequate food, minimum living wage, old age care and pensions, and unemployment benefits, for all Nigerian citizens.

In short, while the draft constitution outlines the method of selecting the nation's rulers and their tenure of office, it also gives guidelines on their moral conduct. Finally it proposes that everyone within the confines of the territory called Nigeria lives a happy life.

During the first stage of the programme, the State issues have been settled and the preliminary steps for the establishment of new states were completed by April, 1976.

The Nation is now at Stage Two of the political Programme. The new States have settled down and Local Government has been constitutionally introduced as the third leg of the government of Nigeria, the others being the Federal and State governments. When the Constituent Assembly meets in October 1977 to adopt the new Constitution, a major progress would have been made towards the next stage. Arrangements for these transitional stages have been entrusted to a 24-man permanent Electoral Commission of eminent Nigerians.

Stage THREE will be a preparatory stage for elections. It envisages the lifting of the ban on political activities in October, 1978. Political parties could then be formed in preparation for the final stages in which elections will be held into legislatures at State and Federal levels as prescribed by the Draft Constitution. The two elections make up stages FOUR and FIVE which are expected to be completed within one year, so that on 1st October, 1979, a democratically elected government is expected to be inaugurated in the country.

In the words of the late Head of State, General Murtala Muhammed: "The present military leadership does not intend to stay in office a day longer than necessary, and certainly not beyond this date." The succeeding Administration of General Obasanjo has repeated this pledge on more than one occasion and is gearing up its programme to that historic date.



FOREIGN POLICY

The Federal Military Government has, since the change of power in July, 1975 been prosecuting a more decisive and progressive foreign policy.

Barely a month before he was assassinated, General Murtala Muhammed, attended the Addis Ababa extraordinary summit conference of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on liberation struggles in Africa and made a spirited defence of the rights of the people of Angola to freedom and independence. That historic speech marked the launching pad of Nigeria's new dynamic foreign policy in which Nigeria and Africa's interests come first.

The government has set out its foreign policy objectives as follows: Firstly, the defence of our sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity;

Secondly, the creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which will facilitate the defence of the independence and territorial integrity of all African countries while at the same time, fostering national self-reliance and rapid economic development;

Thirdly, the promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and the rest of the developing world;

Fourthly, the promotion and defence of justice and respect for human dignity especially the dignity of the black man and fifthly, the defence and promotion of world peace.

These objectives are to be pursued with the realisation that the centre-piece of our foreign policy is Africa. Nigeria is committed to the total liberation of all oppressed black people in Africa and, indeed, anywhere else in the world.

The Federal Military Government avails itself of every opportunity to declare its total commitment to the liberation struggles going on in Africa. Consistent with our policy, and as the need arises, Nigeria has made substantial donations to African governments in the struggle against apartheid and oppression.

In this connection, the recent launching of a national relief fund in aid of the liberation movements in Southern Africa marks a high-water mark in the practical pursuit of this policy.



DOMESTIC POLICY

At home, Nigeria's policy is based largely upon the objectives of the Third National Development Plan which, among other things, seeks to establish a lasting basis for unity, equality and justice and maximum happiness possible for the generality of the 75 million odd Nigerian population consistent with our national resources.

The government set in motion an educational revolution when on September 6, 1976, 2.3 million pupils throughout the nineteen states of the federation started free primary education. The Universal Free Primary Education which initially is voluntary will be compulsory by 1980.

If education is emphasized, it is a recognition of its immense potential for an all-embracing social change leading to human self-fulfilment. But other social sectors have received no less attention, including health, housing, food and leisure. Indeed, it was the importance attached to a proper re-ordering of our national priorities that necessitated the review of the Third Plan resulting in the huge increase in financial commitment from N30 billion to close on N42 billion.



NIGERIANS AND THE ECONOMY

The Federal Military Government has, through the agency of the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Board, set in motion the process of ensuring that Nigerians assume control of the economic destiny of the



His Excellency
Lt-General OLUSEGUN OBASANJO
Head of the Federal Military Government, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces

country. Thirty nine enterprises are now reserved for absolute ownership by Nigerians while fifty two categories of enterprises could be established on 60 per cent Nigerian equity participation with 40 per cent foreign participation.

These are schedules I and II respectively.

Schedule III consists of all other enterprises not within schedules I and II. These could be established with 40 per cent Nigerian participation.

The implementation of Phase II of the Indigenisation Decree began from the 1st of April, 1977. All affected enterprises are expected to have fully complied by the 31st of December, 1978. A new Decree designed to prevent the abuses of the past will be promulgated for this purpose.

The Federal Military Government noted with dismay the high concentration of enterprises taken over in the phase I exercise in a few hands. This is not in keeping with the egalitarian objectives of the present Military Administration. The Supreme Military Council has, therefore, issued guidelines to ensure that the implementation of the Second Phase of the indigenisation programme provides for a wider and more equitable spread of ownership.

The Nigerian Industrial Development Bank and the Nigerian Bank for Commerce and Industry have also been reorganised to effectively participate in the new indigenisation effort. The Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Board itself has also been thoroughly overhauled. In addition, two new Stock Exchanges will be set up at locations outside Lagos.

All Banks now fall under Schedule II, implying 60% Nigerian ownership. However, because of the critical nature of Banking institutions to the success of the indigenisation effort and, indeed, the health of the Nigerian economy, the Supreme Military Council directed that all banking institutions in the country should have 60% indigenous equity participation by the 30th of September, 1976.

In accepting the main recommendations of the Industrial Enterprises Panel, the Supreme Military Council placed full confidence in the ability of the Nigerian private sector to meet the challenges posed. The Federal Military Government has no illusion as to the problems which indigenisation poses but considers that Nigerians are up to the challenges and the tasks.

The Government has made it clear that it will not tolerate, this time, any attempt to impede or frustrate the indigenisation effort by collusion between unpatriotic "Nigerians" and foreigners.



FESTAC 77

The Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) has come and gone but it is sure to go down as one of the hall marks of the achievements of the present administration. Though scaled down in its original scope, FESTAC turned out to be the greatest gathering on record of black peoples for the purpose of recapturing their past and sharing experiences in their common march to self-fulfilment. It was the triumph of man's determination over all odds so symbolic of this administration, and a fitting complement to its declared policy to strive for the upliftment of the black man wherever he is in the world.



Ministry of Information
Lagos, Nigeria

Humour, bounce and intelligence

by Roger Berthoud

It would be hard to imagine anyone more different from the founding Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Canada's Mr. Arnold Smith, than the man who succeeded him in 1975, Mr. Shridath Surendranath Ramphal.

Mr. Smith was a white Commonwealth civil servant, with the qualities and limitations which go with that status. Mr. Ramphal is a Guyanese of Indian origin who studied law in England and married an English woman. He approaches his work with a keen sense of the feelings of the developing world.

But the most striking thing about him is his combination of humour, bounce and intelligence. This warmth of personality and charm is a great asset in the task of reducing suspicions and barriers between countries and individuals. One feels that even Mr. Ian Smith would not be able to resist him.

"Sonny" Ramphal, as he is usually called, was born 48 years ago in New Amsterdam, British Guiana—then the only British colony in Latin America and now the only Commonwealth member there but also a Caribbean country.

His forebears were Indians who arrived there with the main wave of Indian immigrants in the 1880s. His father was a schoolteacher, and became one of the pioneers of secondary education there, and especially of the educational rights of girls of Indian origin.

There were five children, but no terrible poverty. Mr. Ramphal was educated at

the school in Georgetown which his father founded. He recalls that his father did not spare the cane: he was beaten several times.

He began his legal education in London in 1947. As a student he lived with a middle-class family in Surrey, and cannot recall being the butt of racial prejudice—though he had some friends who felt it. "I was lucky and didn't have to cope with landladies in West Kensington," he recalled.

After three years at King's College London and two years as a pupil in chambers (including Dingle Foot's), he was called to the Bar from Gray's Inn and returned to British Guiana glittering with legal prizes.

After a spell in the legal department in Georgetown, he joined the federal Government of the West Indies, first as legal draftsman, later as assistant Attorney General. But then came the breakup of the federation after the referendum in Jamaica called by Mr. Norman Manley. Mr. Ramphal went to Harvard for a year on a Guggenheim fellowship.

He was practising as a lawyer in Kingston and for once making some money when Mr. Forbes Burnham became Prime Minister of British Guiana after the 1964 elections. Mr. Ramphal was invited to return, home in national politics, and thus began 10 years first as Attorney General and then as foreign minister. Guyana became a full member of the Commonwealth on obtaining independence in 1966.

It was back in Kingston at the Commonwealth heads of government meeting of 1975, that he was unanimously chosen as Secretary-General. He now works in Marlborough House, in an office that used to be Queen Mary's living room.

For all his ebullience, Mr. Ramphal does not overestimate the significance of

the Commonwealth as a force in promoting understanding between the developing and the developed world.

"I think it can have influence," he says. "We are inching our way forward at the global level. I think the Commonwealth has contributed to that movement. Even if it is fractional, it is a very useful element."

He shares the view, with the Australian Prime Minister, among others, that the Commonwealth serves as a bridge between blocks and regional groupings, with member states taking their Commonwealth values into such bodies as ASEAN and the Pacific Forum. "Some would like to see Britain doing that more in Europe," he observed.

As for the North-South dialogue, he views the record as disappointing. "There have been small returns from a very intensive dialogue. The mood in the developing world is becoming deeply sceptical and increasingly angry. When unemployment is 40 per cent, then unemployment of 50 per cent is not very different. But when it goes from 3 to 7 per cent, it is catastrophic. There is no poverty like the assumed poverty of the rich."

It is this sort of mood of confrontation which the Kingston meeting of 1975 helped to dissipate, and it is clearly his hope that this month's conference in London will again help to rebuild a mood conducive to cooperation and understanding, rather than damaging public posturing.

Of course the stabilization of commodity prices is at the heart of the dialogue, since the developing countries are heavily dependent on commodity exports for their income. "But the reason for a new deal does not rest on doing something for the poor. It rests on the self-interest of the rich, as it did at a national level."

Europe did not move away from feudalism out of a desire to be virtuous but out of an instinct for survival. "You do not build a future when people's survival is threatened. What the poor countries want is work, a reasonable assurance that pay packets will retain their value, and that with harder work they can share in the gains. And that means changing the system."

West European and American concern over civil and political rights is fair enough, he feels, but should be matched by equally active concern for those suffering the torture of starvation. This applies also to governments in the developed communist countries. "I have not hesitated to say that from where I sit, the socialist countries do not seem to have responded in any adequate way."

It is a mistake, he believes, to apply Westminster yardsticks to democracy in the developing world. "One should distinguish between democracy as participation by the people, and Westminster-style two-party democracy."

In the Commonwealth they have been seeing how they can develop new forms of the democratic process away from two-party politics but including participation. One thing that worries me is the high price we pay in the West for the adversary system. Developing countries do ask if they can afford an adversary system."

In the same way, developing countries have more recently been wondering whether capital-intensive technology is best for countries with great labour surpluses. With structural or built-in unemployment emerging as a phenomenon in Western Europe, Mr. Ramphal feels that this too is a subject which Commonwealth leaders can discuss as equals with common concerns.

At the centre of it all: a profile of Mr. Shridath Ramphal, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth since 1975. Below, Mr. Arnold Smith, his only predecessor, reviews his own term of office. They are pictured in the grounds of Marlborough House



Twelve years of dramatic increase in consultation and cooperation

Twelve years ago Commonwealth heads of government met in 1965, at the same time as the Secretary-General and his staff were considering the election of a secretary general.

Several had nominated Canada's Mr. Arnold Smith, then Secretary-General, as their first choice. But Mr. Smith, who had been Secretary-General since 1965, had decided to resign.

He had some personal reasons. My wife and I had worked abroad for most of the previous 25 years and while I had in mind leaving Canada's diplomatic service in any case, I thought of leaving my post in London rather than world politics.

Also I was by no means sure that the rich white countries would have the vision to do what I thought would be needed to hold the Commonwealth together during these difficult times. I had no desire to preside over its dissolution.

I am not proud of those weeks of timidity. I am glad I changed my mind in time and was the lucky one elected to what must surely be one of the most challenging, varied and fascinating jobs in the world. I was particularly fortunate in the men and women recruited from all parts of the Commonwealth, who agreed to work with me.

At first I had been concerned at the smallness of the staff (the originally authorized establishment was less than 30) and the lack of financial resources—almost nothing beyond pay and a little for travel expenses. In effect, my colleagues and I were given offices in Marlborough House and the opportunity to see what we could make of it. But we had ready access and the opportunity to talk frankly at any level.

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I want to refer to the other set of issues, from Britain's relations with the EEC. I urged my friends from 1950 to 1975, when I was living in Brussels, to be wary of the European Community. In the early years, the European Community was a club of rich, developed countries. It was a club that I thought would be a threat to the Commonwealth. I thought it would be a threat to the Commonwealth's role in the world. I thought it would be a threat to the Commonwealth's role in the world.

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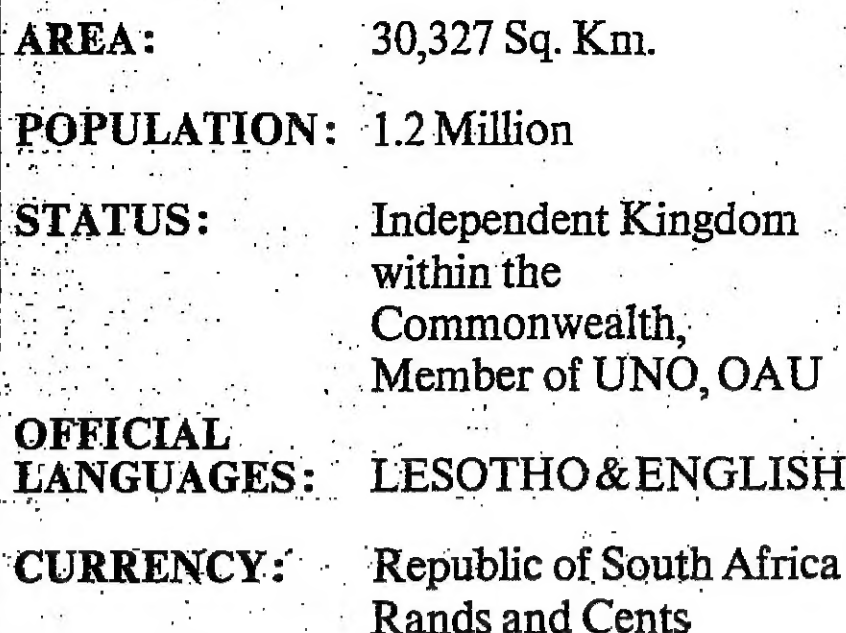
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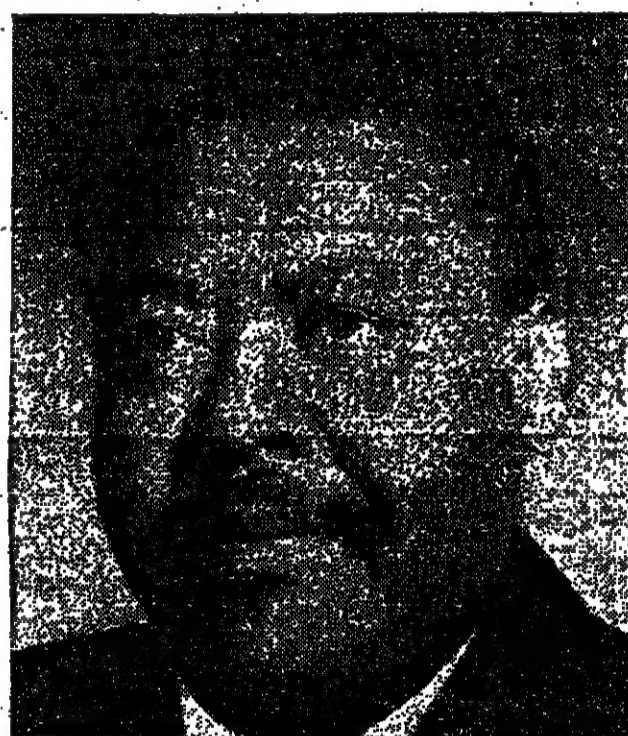
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by John Best

Mr Trudeau has chosen to be optimistic about the chances for success of the Commonwealth Games scheduled to take place in Edmonton in the summer of 1978. Whether his optimism is justified is far from clear.

Diplomacy has been exerted to the full for many months to try to ensure that the dispute over New Zealand's sporting ties with South Africa does not undermine the Games before they even start. The negotiation is being coordinated by Mr Shridath Ramphal, the Commonwealth secretary-general, although Canadian diplomatic resources are deeply engaged in trying to sweeten the atmosphere and thus

make possible a constructive approach to the impasse.

The Prime Minister told a press conference in London: "We are still very confident that they (the Games) will take place and that it will be successful and that all the Commonwealth countries will participate."

He acknowledged that the argument is still a matter of real concern, but expressed the hope that it will be resolved before the Commonwealth heads-of-government meeting in London in June.

"I hope personally that it will not be on the agenda."

To Canadians it seems doubtful whether the squabble can be kept off the agenda. Mr Ramphal may succeed in laying the foundation for an agreement that would permit the Games to go ahead as planned. He is reported to be working towards agreement on the principle that the Commonwealth should be opposed to sporting contacts

between member states and white-ruled South Africa.

But the phrasing in which this principle is to be officially rendered is a different matter. So is the question of whether and how the Commonwealth states are to indicate a willingness to discourage such contacts.

It seems impossible that a formula to satisfy on either point can be worked into final shape without direct action by heads of government.

Even if the Commonwealth summit succeeds in achieving an understanding, the threat to the Games will not be removed. Canadian authorities say that the arrangement would probably have to be scrutinized by a summit meeting of the Organization for African Unity later this year. It is by no means certain that a solution worked out at the Commonwealth summit would satisfy the OAU, which has talked of calling

a boycott of the Games unless New Zealand changes its stand on sports ties with South Africa.

Nor is there any guarantee that an incident or a chance remark will not throw the Games into new extremes of jeopardy later.

While working behind the scenes with Mr Ramphal and the authorities of other countries, Canadians are trying hard to maintain a neutral position in the dispute. They have perhaps a legitimate broker's role to play.

Canada has always been on the side of the angels when it comes to black emancipation and liberation. At the same time, there is an understanding for the position of New Zealand's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Muldoon, and his Government. New Zealand is regarded as almost a model country for the way it treats its own non-white minorities. On the other hand, Mr Muldoon was

elected to office partly because of his pledge to keep politics out of sport.

Therefore there is a limit to how far he can go, politically, in bowing to black demands that he take a stronger stand towards South Africa. He has to find a position that will satisfy both internal and external—that is, Commonwealth—pressures.

"Mr Muldoon cannot reverse himself too rapidly," was the way one official put it.

Despite the political constraints, however, Mr Muldoon backed his Foreign Minister, Mr Brian Talbot, when the latter successfully sought to discourage a boys' rugby team from visiting South Africa. The incident made a big impression on Canadian officials and convinced them more than ever that New Zealand's Prime Minister is prepared to contribute to a reasonable resolution of the argument.

"I think he has been moving in the direction of understanding the very real and justifiable concern of the African and other Commonwealth members for the apartheid practices of South Africa," Mr Trudeau commented.

In the negotiations which are taking place it seems to me that he is coming much closer to the Canadian and British positions, which are not extreme positions."

Mr Muldoon nevertheless steadfastly refuses to place an outright ban on trips by New Zealand sports teams to South Africa, and by South African sports teams to New Zealand. Some of the more extremist African leaders have, on occasion, demanded this and if the African states as a group should officially adopt such a position, next year's Games would be in peril. Even such countries as Canada and Britain could not condone

such restrictions of free men to in at least Canada.

It is equipped to help a settlement of the dispute. It knows its political interests have on international events.

Most African states out of the 1970s at Montreal, against New Zealand's participation. Canada to allow National athletes to compete as representatives within an even last. That was only av the Nationalists voluntarily with the competition.

With that in mind, Canada stands the crucial stance of moving of time to deal dangers confront Commonwealth of

Indian sub-continent concerned about correcting past exploitation

by Richard Wigg

It is often the odd man out who has the most stimulating case to present: Pakistan alone of the four governments of the Indian sub-continent has left the Commonwealth and so will not be attending the prime ministers' London gathering.

Pakistan's case is essentially that the Commonwealth is now a rather languid organisation which has been shown repeatedly unable to solve any of its members' interrelating disputes. With Britain's joining the European Economic Community and historic relationship spanning two centuries with what is now India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh is being rapidly

phased out. It is better now for the sub-continent's governments to develop bilateral relations with Britain and all the other members of the Commonwealth and their immediate neighbours: Pakistan has led the way, it is argued, in interested cultivation of its oil-rich Muslim "brother nations".

This was a shrewd senior Pakistani government official who none the less emphasized the view that the success of the London meeting will probably depend much on whether Mr Morarji Desai, India's Prime Minister, is able to emerge, backed by Tanzania's President, Mr Julius Nyerere, as the star and give a strong lead to the older white Commonwealth governments on the burning racial issue in southern Africa.

All that has been heightened by the conflict between Rhodesia and Zambia; but

there are worries among the governments of the sub-continent, notably Sri Lanka's, that the prime ministers will, through southern Africa, be prevented from spending adequate time confronting seriously another "fundamental issue, where morality and interest are also intermingled."

This is the relationship between the rich industrialized countries and the underdeveloped Third World, the struggle by the advanced of the backward nations for a new international economic order to correct past colonial exploitation.

Mr Desai, when he opened the non-aligned nations in Delhi last month, signalled the new Government's emphasis on both those fundamental issues unambiguously. His language in London will doubtless be more restrained: but the fact remains that Indian is-

terests require in other international bodies, like the United Nations, that on the racial issue it keeps in well with the black African states. India's position seems likely to be strong in moral terms, although less precise on the question of material aid to the guerrilla movements. (That need not, however, prevent India from giving low level training assistance on the sub-continent.)

On the North-South dialogue Mr Desai has taken a stand which insists both on the need for greater real transfers of resources by the rich countries and on greater self-help by the poor countries themselves. This is typical of the "Desai approach"—both moral and pragmatic.

One of the issues the Indians have been pushing is for softening of the terms to the developing nations, seen as offering some proof that the indus-

trialized creditor nations are serious when they go on talking.

But the Indian Prime Minister's personal contribution is also a factor for, unlike Mrs Gandhi, whom the Commonwealth left cold (her dissatisfaction with it over sub-continent issues was indeed like Pakistan's), Mr Desai is understood to be enthusiastic about this, his first trip abroad since taking office. The Indians sense, too, that London is eager to see Mr Desai take the floor.

It is not mere inertia which keeps the other three countries in the Commonwealth: indeed, officials of those governments say they sense from time to time that Pakistan would like to return to the fold. (Obviously this could not occur under the Kashmir dispute.)

But the arguments advanced by Pakistan may be only a rationalization of what

everyone on the sub-continent knows as an emotional decision taken to walk out of the Commonwealth in January, 1972, over Bangladesh, formerly East Pakistan, add its recognition by Britain and other Commonwealth governments. Even in Islamabad one can hear it admitted that India enjoys trading advantages, although they are said to be slight, through continued Commonwealth membership. How long they will last is another matter.

Staying outside can have other advantages: if you are not likely to get your own pressing problems solved, nor are you often counselled by the senior members of the Commonwealth; not to upset the apple-cart by raising bilateral issues such as the Kashmir dispute.

In a rapidly changing world the institution of the Commonwealth prime min-

isters' regular meeting to justify itself like any other, must start with a starting with a belief in Indian sub-continent seem to be that it is a waste of time to deal with a "lost" cause.

As a Bangladesh put it, common to government, diplomatic vehicle of it give the organization start over other gatherings which hampering simple there is no around at a vital tact between two delegation.

The Commonwealth can still seminars for evolution national diplomat even if the pupils ministers or pres

Most educational books now locally produced

by Carolyn O'Grady

In 1967 New Zealand imported 70 to 80 per cent of its educational books, and almost all these came from the United Kingdom. In 1977 the position is almost exactly reversed: one large New Zealand educational publisher reports that 67 per cent of his turnover is locally produced books, and other estimates put the proportion at nearer 80 per cent. This situation is repeated throughout the Commonwealth, but it would be wrong to suppose that behind such statistics lies a end tale of the decline of British educational publishing for the Commonwealth.

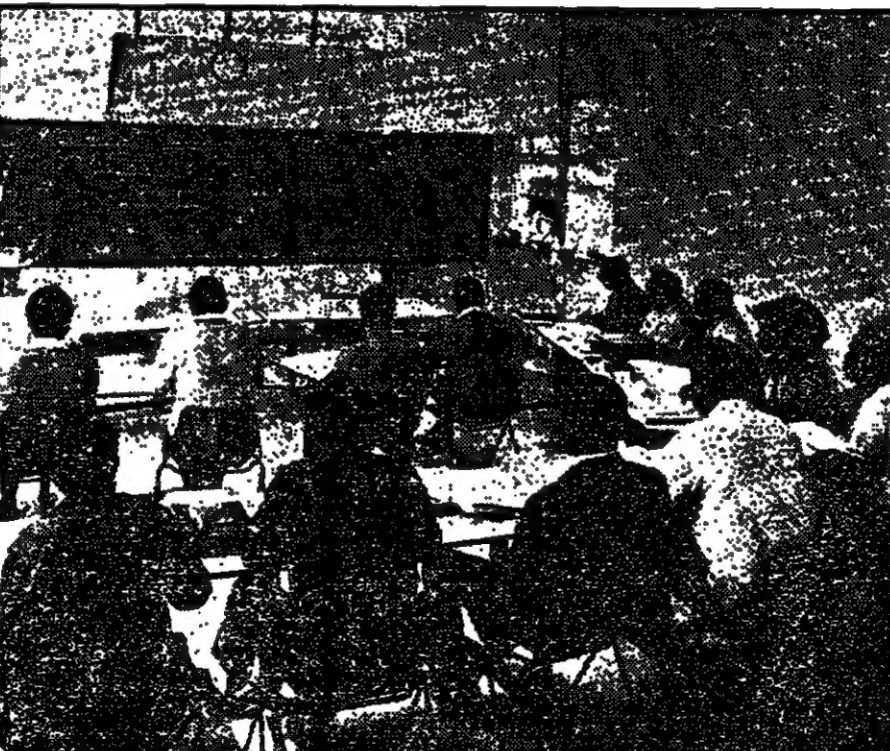
Certainly in some countries it does. In New Zealand a small number of indigenous publishers and a few foreign companies compete furiously for a very small market. Canada's determination to achieve cultural independence from the United States has led to booklists which exclude almost all but indigenous publishers. American publications dominate the academic book market throughout the Commonwealth.

Elsewhere, however, and at different educational levels, the story is different. Mr Alan Hill is managing director of the Heinemann Group of publishers, and a former chairman of the Educational Publishers Council. He sees the dominant trend for every country to write and publish its own educational books, "based not only on political and economic nationalism, but also on an educational and cultural necessity" as a new opportunity for British publishers, not a threat.

"British firms which publish educational books for the Commonwealth are booming," he says. In particular, this is true of the black African countries, and to lesser extent Australia and the Caribbean.

In Australia, ultimate responsibility for schools lies at state level. Some states allow individual ownership of books, and the resulting high expenditure has benefited many British subsidiary companies.

In future, commercial pressures on booksellers and the trend towards more freedom of choice for individual schools may decrease local sales. But the outlook for the imported book is more optimistic. The new internationalism of Australian society is expected to lead to a greater acceptance of material originally designed for local systems. Moreover, new thinking about the curriculum in Australia has been influenced by British materials, particularly those published under the auspices of the Nuffield Foundation and the Schools Council. So far, however, this pro-



The Mananga Agricultural Management Centre, Swaziland, established and financed by the Commonwealth Development Corporation, teaches management and financial control at middle level.

size does not appear to have led to the expected quantity of sales. The situation has been attributed to Australian conservatism, but it is noteworthy that American schemes, though officially not so highly regarded, are selling well. Stronger marketing would seem to be the answer.

The population of Australia is small, and it is to the Third World countries that British publishers must turn for very large sales. It is here that the principal British educational publishers, because of historical ties and willingness to adapt early to changing local situations, now often find themselves in a very strong position.

The history of educational publishing in the Third World has been the change-over from the importation of United Kingdom textbooks to the publication of local books. The trend continues apace. Heinemann Educational Books, for example, reports that in 1975 65 per cent of its sales in Nigeria were imports of United Kingdom textbooks. This year, however, only 37 per cent will be British books—the rest will be local publications. The figures do not represent a decline in the import of British books, but demonstrate the steep rise in Nigerian publications produced by British firms, all of which are under Nigerian law 60 per cent owned by Nigerian interests.

Wealthy Nigeria is, of course, an extreme example, particularly as the Government last year introduced universal primary education

for the first time. Elsewhere in Africa the story is similar, but on a smaller scale. Longman, one of the largest British companies in Africa, opened its first African office in Nigeria in 1952. Until the mid-1960s the company was importing British textbooks for an educational system modelled entirely on that in the United Kingdom. It now employs 300 people in black Africa, 296 of whom are African, including all the company heads, and publishes books for local and African syllabuses.

In Nigeria, which is by far the biggest market, the company has a main office in Lagos and three regional offices. It sells about nine million books a year in that country, of which about five million are locally produced, and about two million in Kenya, the second largest market.

Longman's African subsidiaries, like its other overseas branches, are given a great deal of independence. But, although decentralization is the key to the success of these companies abroad, they retain some of the benefits of central control. Interaction between the mother company and its subsidiaries has to be flexible—African textbooks are now occasionally being adapted for use in Britain—but in the main, the subsidiary companies concentrate on the production of local books, while the central office produces those books which can be marketed internationally.

While large companies such as Longman, Heinemann, and Oxford University Press, Macmillan, Nelson and John Stoughton have decentralized, other companies have also secured orders by adapting successful British schemes. Scientific and mathematical materials, in particular, travel well. The outpourings of the school mathematics project, for example, which are published by the Cambridge University Press after careful revision, have found their way into schools in Australia, New Zealand, Nigeria, East Africa, and the Scottish integrated science materials have also been internationalized.

Alan Hill sees the development of local publishing by British subsidiaries and the import of British materials which have been adapted as related. The Nigerianization of local British companies, he says, has in effect created a partnership. The British publisher retains a 40 per cent interest in his company (with the vast increase in educational spending, this is worth far more to him than 100 per cent five years ago).

In return, he is one of the most effective channels for the supply of British educational experience and skill, which is one of those areas in which this country is still outstanding.

"There is a genuine internationalism in the British Commonwealth on educational thought and practice, with increasing contacts at every level. But Britain takes the lead, and consequently suitably adapted British books based on new curriculum developments have in Commonwealth countries."

by Adrienne Gleeson

There is no such thing as a Commonwealth bank, but because of the historical origins of the Commonwealth, there are several banks which serve a large part of the Commonwealth. And in some countries they provide much of the retail banking service: the British network, the facilities for depositing and borrowing money.

In a world in which most governments are anxious to impose stringent national controls on the banks within their jurisdiction, such multinational retail banking operations look something of an anomaly—and if the experience of banks within some of the "new" Commonwealth countries is any guide, that anomaly may not last much longer.

Multinational retail banking tends to stop short at the shores of the countries of the "old" Commonwealth—Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In those countries: legislation designed to control the influx of foreign banks (particularly in Canada, where such legislation is being relaxed) effectively reserves domestic banking activities to domestic banks—the likes of Bank of Montreal in Canada, Australia and New Zealand Banking Group, or the Bank of New South Wales in Australia.

Such banks have offices abroad, to facilitate the international trade of their customers; but they are still domestic rather than international banks. The siting of their overseas representation will be dictated, not by historical ties but by trade flows which may well have little to do with the existence of the Commonwealth link.

Thus Australia now does 30 per cent of its trade with Japan, and almost as much with the United States; and its exports to Britain account for rather less than 5 per cent of the total. In the same manner the Canadian economy is dominated by the United States, and Canadian banking and the Commonwealth link have little to say to one another.

That, however, is not the case in the less developed countries of the Commonwealth. Two banks, by historical accident, have heavy representation in those countries: Barclays Bank International (BBI) and Standard Chartered Bank. Within a geographical framework, Guangdong and Hongkong Banking Corporation also have heavy representation in particular areas: Grindlays in South Asia and East Africa countries, and Hong-

Multinational banks redefine their function

long and Shanghai in South-East Asia.

Barclays Bank International is the former Barclays DCO (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas), formed in 1917 when the old Colonial Bank of the West Indies agreed on a merger with Barclays of West Africa. Both parts of the world were then within the sterling area, and the arguments for the merger hinged on the fact that harvest seasons for the main crops alternated, so that demand for money on one side of the Atlantic might be expected to be balanced by a seasonal surplus of liquidity on the other.

That reassurance has long since gone, but through its subsidiaries and associates, Barclays Bank still has a retail banking network throughout the West Indies and in most countries of Africa, and it still deposits almost a third of its deposits from Africa and more than 7 per cent from the West Indies. Thus, though it is much a reflection of the imperial past of the Commonwealth, the bulk of the African deposits, for instance, come in by way of the South African subsidiaries.

Most of them that the days of branch networks not simply because banking is a high need (some areas of Africa are still "unbanked"), but also to acknowledge the national government an indigenous banking system. This notion of resisted the idea should shed some equity and allow participants in on the Nigeria, for example, wholly-owned bank both BBI and Standard have with year become associates.

Standard Chartered and the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation were threatened with a bill of nations in Sri Lanka, and the other arguments, ploughing too much into the physical ground for branch

So future developments are likely to be in the direction of sale banking as the big American network, and the both Standard Chartered and BBI have been branch networks in the United States, a reflection of the structure there than a continent.

Widespread banking gives the opportunity to share in financing between developed nations, developing nations, and the Commonwealth. South Africa, Kenya, Hongkong, and so on. With Grindlays, the pattern is similar: offices

Standard Chartered now has offices in places as diverse as Japan, Iran, and Panama, but the heavy branch representation is still in countries which are or were members of the Commonwealth: South Africa, Kenya, Hongkong, and so on. With Grindlays, the pattern is similar: offices

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Aid agency with a difference

flexible, and can do anything from training diplomats to hurriers: that is not a word, but a word of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation. Its sixth year, the fund, funded by voluntary contributions from Commonwealth countries, poor as rich. There is no scale of aid, but in 1977-78 the fund spent some £8m on projects in the Commonwealth.

The first-year budget in 1971 was only £400,000, even allowing for inflation's erosion, the fund's activities have grown enormously. The CFTC can respond in a wide variety of ways to governments which ask for support. Last year it helped to supply Sierra Leone with diplomats trained in Kenya; provided a tropical botanist to produce Papua New Guinea's first catalogue of plants; sent a laboratory technician from the University of the South Pacific to learn glass blowing in India; gave four zoo keepers from

Singapore lessons in handling elephants in Sri Lanka; and provided specialists to advise Fiji on the strategy for forecasting hurricanes. The CFTC has a staff of fewer than 100, under the managing directorship of Mr Anthony Tasker. These are mainly administrative staff with the exception of a technical assistance group, a team of experts on the London staff who can advise governments on the legal, economic and fiscal aspects of the exploration and exploitation of natural resources.

Mr Tasker says: "We are keeping the administrative costs to under 9 per cent of the total expenditure which, as far as I know, is better than any international agency. 'There is no 'them' or 'us' about the CFTC, which makes us different from the traditional aid agency financed only by richer countries. We make use of knowledge from the developing countries. Nearly half our expert help now comes from these countries, for the most part from the two big reservoirs of manpower, India and Sri Lanka."

The fund aims to pool resources of skill, money and training to encourage economic and social progress in the developing Commonwealth and provide a framework within which these countries can help each other. It has no regional representation in general, and that, Mr Tasker freely admits, has led to two or three disasters with wrong people in the wrong place at the wrong time. One of its undoubted successes, however, has been the Commonwealth boost for Indian exports—a series of big export promotion projects in which India's Trade Development Authority has been helped by the CFTC to find buyers for a wide variety of Indian manufactures from cotton goods to castings and forgings for engines, cement and steel tubes, motor cycles and mopeds.

The pilot project, a trade fair of Indian manufactured goods specially adapted for the British market, took place at the World Trade Centre in London in October, 1974. It began with an assessment of suitable exports and manufacturers' ability to supply them in sufficient quantity. Then a British consultancy was engaged to analyse the demand for the products in buyers for Indian goods. This time the Indian manufacturers, many of whom had made their entry into world export markets through the London venture, were better prepared. Samples from India had been widely distributed, and design and quality control adapted to meet customers' requirements.

The New York trade meeting costs the CFTC £85,000 and Indian manufacturers received orders worth \$10.56m (about £5.2m at the exchange rate then). A third meeting arranged in Los Angeles in October, 1976, surprised West Coast buyers with the wide variety of products from castings to complex machinery and plants. The project cost the CFTC £105,000 for orders worth \$8.66m (£5.1m) and inquiries worth \$54m, chiefly for engineering products.

A fourth meeting for Indian manufacturers and prospective buyers is scheduled for Chicago in August. up was used for a buyers' received orders worth \$10.56m (about £5.2m at the exchange rate then). A third meeting arranged in Los Angeles in October, 1976, surprised West Coast buyers with the wide variety of products from castings to complex machinery and plants. The project cost the CFTC £105,000 for orders worth \$8.66m (£5.1m) and inquiries worth \$54m, chiefly for engineering products.

Regional approach to big task

to the technical projects, the such which can often be in hard cash, the Commonwealth programme is more a quantity. In at of the Commonwealth countries more than population is aged so the task of their needs, and their hopes with dies, is formidable. programme seeks to and support active ion by young in their countries' ent, stimulating interest through a of activities including, research, and awards.

Commonwealth up to date with developments. Because of the varied political complexion of the countries within the Commonwealth, in the main the CYP can respond to what governments ask of it rather than initiate action. It offers technical and financial assistance for establishing and developing national youth programmes, but in no two countries is the method of achieving this likely to be the same. CYP training emphasises the setting up of job creation projects. There is no wide range of jobs waiting to be filled. Most jobs have to be self-created. In Malaysia, for example, the Government already had a youth programme and a network of youth clubs. CYP was invited to train the youth workers, who are appointed to work at club level. One of these youth clubs, in a rural area of Malaysia, has created its own solution

to its members' lack of schooling. A group of 17 youngsters began the club with the purpose of arranging private tuition for members who had failed to get into state schools because of poor examination results. They persuaded university students to take classes voluntarily, while pupils paid a small fee. The club, begun in 1968, now has more than 260 tutors and some six hundred boys and girls have taken courses there. Some 70 ex-students have gained university places and continue their involvement in the club, returning in vacations to run classes and mark essays.

Up to now the Youth Programme has received a tactical and political course. But last month came the warning from young people themselves that they want more political involvement. At their first meeting, in Ocho Rios, Jamaica, carefully timed to take place before the meeting of Commonwealth heads of government, young leaders from 31 Commonwealth countries gave notice that young people want more involvement in decision-making at all levels, more political education and an all-out attack on unemployment.

In their declaration they say: "We believe that increased participation by youth leaders, officials and young politicians in a united effort within local, national and international institutions is imperative for hastening the pace of development and for combating the intolerable evil of unemployment which so extensively pervades the ranks of youth and most directly affects their right to equality of opportunity. We believe it is our prime responsibility to seek to broaden the franchise in some of our countries so as to facilitate increased access by young people to parli-

"Anyone who can guide you through the jungle can be trusted to lead you out of the woods."

— Oriental Wisdom

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Established in 1937, the Diaward Group is enjoying its 40th anniversary and, on the occasion of the Commonwealth Conference, extends special greetings to all member countries.

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Commonwealth of the Bahamas

The Bahamas: An Ideal Climate For Living And Investment

The Bahamas wants and needs your business. To get it, we offer what is among the best range of incentives for the development of private enterprise to be found anywhere in the world, such as:

A. Financial legislation providing

1. Exemption on taxes on all earnings — no corporate taxes, no personal income tax, no capital gain tax, no profits tax, no inheritance tax.
2. In accordance with existing Exchange Control regulations, there is complete freedom to repatriate investments and profits.
3. Investors enjoy full currency convertibility, and the Bahamian dollar maintains perfect parity with the U.S. dollar.

B. Industrial benefits, including

1. For companies registered under the Industries

Encouragement Act, exemption from customs duties on machinery, tools, equipment, raw materials and components necessary for plant operations.

2. Similar benefits for companies registered under the Agricultural Development Act.

3. As a signatory to the Lomé Convention, The Bahamas enjoys trading advantages with other countries which have signed the Convention; there is a similar status for trade with the United States under the Generalized System of Preferences.

C. Communications capabilities, including

1. International airports in The Bahamas provide swift, direct access from the United States, Canada, UK-Europe, South America, Central America, the Caribbean, Mexico and Israel.
2. Natural deep-water facilities accommodate the largest

cargo carriers and cruise ships.

3. An advanced telecommunications system includes direct dialing to North America and instant contact with UK-Europe.

Unlike many developing countries The Bahamas has become a major offshore financial centre with nearly 300 banks and finance houses offering a reservoir of short and medium-term investment capital.

But the business climate isn't the only one that's ideal — temperatures in the Bahamas average 70 degrees Fahrenheit in the winter, 80 degrees Fahrenheit in the summer. The beauty of the waters and the warmth of the Bahamian people have made these islands among the most attractive resort-living and working areas in the world.

Enquiries may be directed to the Ministry of Development, P.O. Box N-4596, Nassau, Bahamas.



Greetings to our Commonwealth Friends

As the third oldest parliamentary democracy in the New World (our first legislature was elected in 1729), The Bahamas took its place as a full-fledged member of the Commonwealth of Nations on July 10, 1973. This marked the culmination of centuries of orderly constitutional development as a British Colony.

The Commonwealth Conference held this year in London, coinciding with the celebration of Queen Elizabeth's Silver Jubilee, serves to re-emphasise the bonds which unite the Commonwealth under her symbolic leadership.

The warmth of Her Majesty's reception during State Visits to The Bahamas in recent years has on each occasion dramatically affirmed the continuing popularity of the historical ties and humanistic principles which bind us to the Commonwealth.

Although The Bahamas' economy has expanded to embrace other sectors such as international banking and finance, petrochemicals and light manufacturing, we remain strongly dependent on tourism as our main engine of growth and national development.

In 1976 tourist expenditures in The Bahamas reached \$367 million — an annual income which we hope to increase to at least \$500 million by the end of this decade. The potential for growth is high. We invite your presence, your participation and your partnership.

Lynden O. Pindling
Lynden O. Pindling



Lynden O. Pindling

Permanent Residence in The Bahamas

The Bahamas Government is giving special consideration to the grant of a limited number of Certificates of Permanent Residence each year to persons of means and of good character who have distinguished themselves in certain fields or who possess special skills. Every successful applicant who does not already own a home in The Bahamas will be required to acquire one within two years of the approval of his application.

A condition for the grant of a certificate would be an undertaking by the applicant to make other approved investments of a substantial nature in The Bahamas with funds derived from outside sources. Investments already made in The Bahamas would be taken into consideration and the Government would agree to allow the repatriation of funds in accordance with exchange control regulations prevailing at the time the transfer is requested.

Application for the grant of a Certificate of Permanent Residence should be made on the prescribed form available at The Bahamas High Commission, 39 Pall Mall, which should be notarised and forwarded to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, P.O. Box N-3002, Nassau, Bahamas. Such application should be accompanied by testimonials of good character and by a statement from a reputable financial institution certifying the applicant's financial standing as adequate to reside permanently in The Bahamas without the need to engage in gainful occupation.

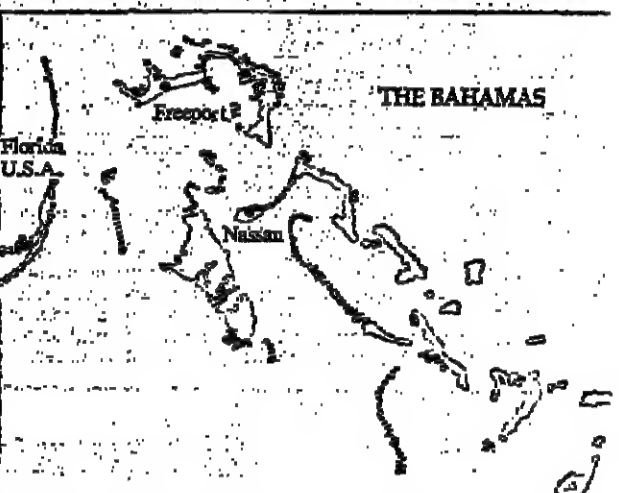
Additionally, the covering letter with which the application is submitted should indicate:

- (a) the range of annual income from sources outside The Bahamas in category (i) \$10,000 to \$20,000 (ii) \$20,000 to \$30,000 (iii) over \$30,000
- (b) whether applicant owns home in The Bahamas or proposes to build or otherwise acquire one, and its location;
- (c) whether applicant has any investment in The Bahamas and, if so, how much; whether less than or more than \$50,000; or how much the applicant undertakes to invest in The Bahamas;
- (d) whether applicant intends to seek employment in The Bahamas;
- (e) what special skills or

expertise the applicant possesses, and whether such skill or expertise would be available to The Bahamas; (f) what special distinction, any, the applicant has achieved; and (g) what special contribution, any, the applicant can make to the development of The Bahamas.

A fee of B\$5,000 is payable for a Certificate of Permanent Residence. On application such a certificate may be endorsed, free of charge, to apply to a wife or any dependent child ordinarily resident with the holder of the Certificate of Permanent Residence.

Further enquiries may be made at The Bahamas High Commission or at the Ministry of Home Affairs.



The Bahamas: Leading Offshore Financial Centre

The Bahamas satisfies all of the basic conditions considered by investors to be essential for the success of an international financial centre. These are:

- No income tax, no capital gain tax, no death duties and reasonably low rates of property tax.
- Political and social stability.
- Strict bank secrecy laws.
- Availability of legal and accounting expertise.
- Currency stability.
- Excellent transportation and communications systems.

There are nearly 300 international banks and trust companies in The Bahamas, and Nassau is second only to London in the amount of Eurodollar transactions carried out. After tourism, finance is The Bahamas' most important economic industry.

The Central Bank of The Bahamas was established in 1974 to regulate money and credit so as to safeguard the value of the Bahamian dollar.

The Central Bank also supervises and controls the financial institutions operating in The Bahamas, safeguarding the reputation of the financial system and community.

The Bahamas welcomes increased participation in its development by the world financial community.

Enquiries may be directed to The Central Bank of The Bahamas, P.O. Box N-4868, Nassau, Bahamas.

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If the Bahamas are the rich man's paradise, it may surprise you to know that you're rich.

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Fill this in and send it to us, or give us a ring. We'll tell you all the things we have to offer, and the prices.

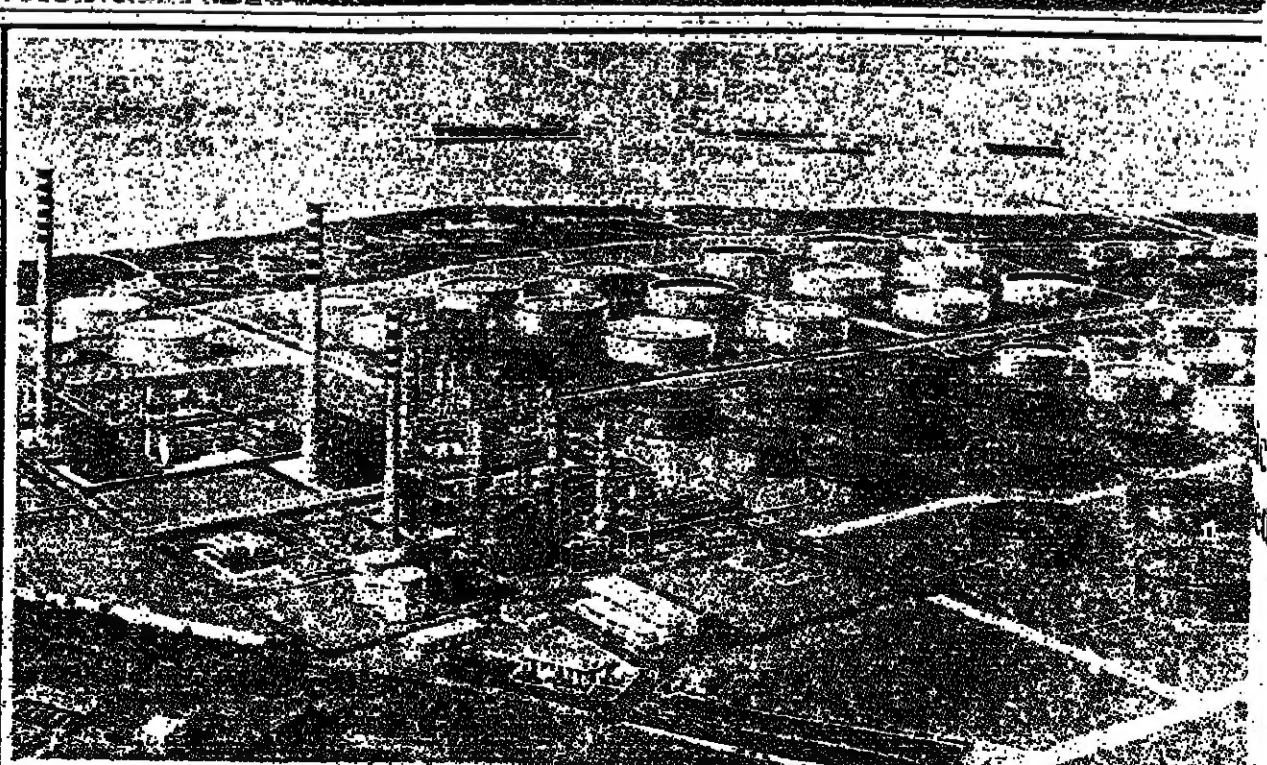
The Bahamas are still the rich man's paradise, but for two weeks you can be a rich man.

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